



LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

TLS

18 AUGUST 1972

No. 3,677

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CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

LIBRARIANS

UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS

LIBRARY SERVICE

Applications for the post of Senior Librarian should be sent to the Librarian, University of Leeds, 155, Leeds, LS2 9JT. Salary on the scale £12,251 to £18,000 (over £12,100).

LONDON BOROUGH OF WALTHAM FOREST

LIBRARIAN AND ARTS DEPARTMENT

Applications are invited from Librarians with at least 2 years' experience in the Library Association for the following posts at the Central Library: (1) SENIOR ASSISTANT, LIBRARY SERVICES. (2) SENIOR ASSISTANT, LEADING LIBRARY. Salary scale £9,045 to £12,000, plus London weighting. Further details and application forms from the Town Clerk, Town Hall, London, W17 4JL. Closing date: 4th September, 1972.

WEST RIDING COUNTY LIBRARY

LIBRARIAN-IN-CHARGE

Applications are invited from Librarians with at least 5 years' experience in the Library Association for the post of Librarian-in-Charge at the West Riding County Library, 155, Leeds, LS2 9JT. Salary scale £12,251 to £18,000 (over £12,100). Further details and application forms from the Town Clerk, Town Hall, London, W17 4JL. Closing date: 4th September, 1972.

WEST SUFFOLK COUNTY COUNCIL

LIBRARY SERVICE

Applications are invited from Librarians with at least 2 years' experience in the Library Association for the post of Librarian-in-Charge at the West Suffolk County Library, 155, Ipswich, IP1 1JL. Salary scale £12,251 to £18,000 (over £12,100). Further details and application forms from the Town Clerk, Town Hall, London, W17 4JL. Closing date: 4th September, 1972.

WIGAN AND DISTRICT

MINING AND TECHNICAL COLLEGE

Applications are invited from Librarians with at least 2 years' experience in the Library Association for the post of Librarian-in-Charge at the Wigan and District Mining and Technical College, 155, Wigan, WN1 1JL. Salary scale £12,251 to £18,000 (over £12,100). Further details and application forms from the Town Clerk, Town Hall, London, W17 4JL. Closing date: 4th September, 1972.

WEST RIDING COUNTY LIBRARY

LIBRARIAN-IN-CHARGE

Applications are invited from Librarians with at least 5 years' experience in the Library Association for the post of Librarian-in-Charge at the West Riding County Library, 155, Leeds, LS2 9JT. Salary scale £12,251 to £18,000 (over £12,100). Further details and application forms from the Town Clerk, Town Hall, London, W17 4JL. Closing date: 4th September, 1972.

PUBLIC & UNIVERSITY

AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

CATALOGUER

Applications are invited for the post of Cataloguer in the Cataloguing Department of the Australian National University Library. The successful applicant will be responsible for the cataloguing of books, journals, and other materials. The post is full-time and involves a high level of responsibility. The successful applicant will be required to have a degree in Library Studies or a related field, and to have at least 2 years' experience in cataloguing. The salary scale is \$12,251 to \$18,000 (over \$12,100). Further details and application forms from the Librarian, Australian National University Library, Canberra, ACT 2601. Closing date: 4th September, 1972.

BRITISH LIBRARY OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SCIENCE

POLITICAL ARCHIVES INVESTIGATOR

Applications are invited from Librarians with at least 2 years' experience in the Library Association for the post of Political Archives Investigator at the British Library of Political and Economic Science, 155, London, WC1N 3AT. Salary scale £12,251 to £18,000 (over £12,100). Further details and application forms from the Librarian, British Library of Political and Economic Science, 155, London, WC1N 3AT. Closing date: 4th September, 1972.

UNIVERSITY OF PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA

LIBRARIAN

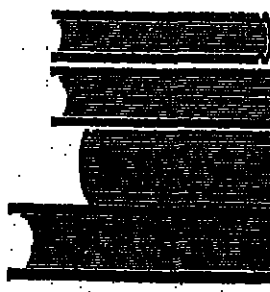
Applications are invited from Librarians with at least 2 years' experience in the Library Association for the post of Librarian at the University of Papua and New Guinea, 155, Port Moresby, PNG. Salary scale \$12,251 to \$18,000 (over \$12,100). Further details and application forms from the Librarian, University of Papua and New Guinea, 155, Port Moresby, PNG. Closing date: 4th September, 1972.

BOOKS AND PRINTS

A bookseller from Aberdeen writes:

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For further particulars, please apply to: Charlotte Coulson, T.L.S., Printing House Square, London, EC4P 4DE. 01-236 2000, ext. 280.

EXHIBITIONS

COMAGNAC VINTAGE ART GALLERY

Contemporary Exhibition 10th September, 10.30-5.30, 11.30-5.30, 12.30-5.30

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ALBANY, N.Y. Auctioneers, 100 N. Broadway, Albany, N.Y. 12242. Tel. 426-1111. We are now accepting bids for the sale of the following: 1. A 1964 Ford Mustang, 2. A 1965 Ford Mustang, 3. A 1966 Ford Mustang, 4. A 1967 Ford Mustang, 5. A 1968 Ford Mustang, 6. A 1969 Ford Mustang, 7. A 1970 Ford Mustang, 8. A 1971 Ford Mustang, 9. A 1972 Ford Mustang, 10. A 1973 Ford Mustang, 11. A 1974 Ford Mustang, 12. A 1975 Ford Mustang, 13. A 1976 Ford Mustang, 14. A 1977 Ford Mustang, 15. A 1978 Ford Mustang, 16. A 1979 Ford Mustang, 17. A 1980 Ford Mustang, 18. A 1981 Ford Mustang, 19. A 1982 Ford Mustang, 20. A 1983 Ford Mustang, 21. A 1984 Ford Mustang, 22. A 1985 Ford Mustang, 23. A 1986 Ford Mustang, 24. A 1987 Ford Mustang, 25. A 1988 Ford Mustang, 26. A 1989 Ford Mustang, 27. A 1990 Ford Mustang, 28. A 1991 Ford Mustang, 29. A 1992 Ford Mustang, 30. A 1993 Ford Mustang, 31. A 1994 Ford Mustang, 32. A 1995 Ford Mustang, 33. A 1996 Ford Mustang, 34. A 1997 Ford Mustang, 35. 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Biafran soldiers in action

next phase, coinciding with the rest of "the duration" and its immediate aftermath, produced such a flood of newspaper commentary, articles and editorials from all over the world that—as a glance at Zdenek Cervenka's extensive yet still incomplete bibliographical record reveals—its very volume must cause even the stoutest-hearted of bibliographers to blinch.

Subjective advocates and objective scholars

With the ending of the war, its historiography is now beginning to fill out and take shape. The literature of the engaged, pro-Biafran and Federal-inclined alike, lost its rationale at the moment the last shot was fired at Uli airport. It had only rarely been of a quality higher than that of pungent ephemera. Public relations exercises like Sir Rex Niven's *War of Nigerian Unity*, Robert Collis's low-keyed *Nigeria in Conflict*, Nwankwo and Ifejiaka's *The Making of a Nation*, the Waugh and Cronje essays in *Biafra: Britain's Shame*, and the polemics of Jean Böhler and Jules Chomé enjoyed but the brief character and limited life of a moth. So sudden was Biafra's final collapse that many a partisan manuscript must have been caught, as it were, with its pants down in the press. Of the wartime literature—that is, to say, books published while the fighting was still in progress—only Ralph Uwueke's *Reflections on the Nigerian Civil War*, since revised, and Alain Renard's *Biafra: naissance d'une nation* seem likely to be remembered and worth rereading. In a slightly different category, because it was published long after the war had started yet took the story up to only the eye of the fighting, is *Nigerian Politics and Military Rule: Prelude to Civil War*, edited by S. K. Panteg-Brick. Many of its contributions still rank among the best analyses of Nigeria on its primrose path. Otherwise, it is fair to say that the objective scholars took over where the subjective advocates left off.

Nor have they been slow to make their important contributions to the historiography of the Nigerian Civil War. First in 1971 came A. H. M. Kirk-Greene's *Crisis and Conflict in Nigeria*, a "Documentary Sourcebook" described in the *TLS* (October 15, 1971) as "the starting-point for any further research". Of major importance were two sociological studies of the Nigerian officer corps also published in 1971, N. J. Miners's *The Nigerian Army, 1956-1966*, and Robin Luckham's *The Nigerian Military*. The latter promises to be a permanent contribution to the sociology of the military in Africa. Such works, of likely lasting scholarship, have built on and advanced the classical studies of the prewar political process in Nigeria by writers like J. S. Coleman, R. Sklar, J. Mackintosh, B. J. Dudley and C. S. Whitaker. But history, politics, and sociology have not been the only disciplines to earn a place in the expanding historiography of the Nigerian Civil War. During the actual war years there was a small but rich output of vibrant poetry, much of it offering an insight into the dilemma of the intellectual caught up in a civil war. Wole

Soyinka's sequence "October 1966" in *John Pepper Clark's Casualties*, and Chris Okigbo's *Path of Thunder: Poems Prophesying War* were all poignant testimony to this. Revealing, too, are the vernacular poems sponsored by the Hausa press in the old wartime North (unfortunately a closed book in this country to those of the wrong side of the learned doors of the School of Oriental and African Studies) and the chauvinistic xenophobia found in such outbursts as Samson Amali's *Iboes and their Fellow Nigerians*. And, as was recently pointed out in a middle-page article in the *TLS* (March 3), the postwar shift from poetry to novels, short stories and drama (Soyinka's *Madmen and Specialists* is the outcome of his wartime detention by the Federal Government) has, in Chinua Achebe's *Girls at War*, Nwankwo and Ifejiaka's *The Insider*, and Ali Mazrui's brilliant and typically provocative *The Trial of Christopher Okigbo*, added a new and important dimension to the historiography of the Nigerian Civil War. While S. O. Mezu's *Behind the Rising Sun* has rightly been reviewed as fiction, it is so clearly a *roman à clef*, and gives such an unequalled insight into the detailed operation of Biafra's lifeline in the shady chicanery of Paris and Lisbon, that it deserves close reading by historians and political scientists as much as by those who purchase it as simply the novel it purports to be.

Eyewitness accounts and inside stories

Now we have five more books on the Nigerian Civil War. Each has its own contribution to make. John de St. Jorre writes as a journalist, one who saw more of the frontline fighting at first hand than did most correspondents, and on both sides too. John Oyibo is an expatriate who lived in Nigeria through the war as well as through the First Republic, probably a civil servant rather than a don (the evidence is carefully blurred, but it is an unusual academic who would hide such a well-earned piece of writing under the bushel of pseudonymity). Zdenek Cervenka is a professor at the Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, in Uppsala. His contribution is essentially a researcher's tool.

Fortunately, and at last, the books under review are not all by expatriate writers. We have a collection of essays, advertised as "an African analysis of the Biafran conflict", which rejects the surface in favour of the deep structure of the phenomenon that was briefly Biafra. And though we still do not have Nnamdi Azikiwe's *apologia pro vita sua*, now in its third year of announcement and anticipated as one of this most revealing glosses on the story of Nigeria in turmoil, we do have Dr. N. U. Akpan's *The Struggle for Secession* a contribution from one of the leading Biafran personalities (labeled with not much of a talking part). As Secretary to Ojukwu's Cabinet and the senior civilian administrator in Biafra throughout the war, he is in a unique position to record as none of the other authors reviewed here could possibly do. Mr Akpan's book is the first example of a work written not by an observer, however shrewd or

sympathetic, but by a full-time participant. (Ojukwu's two volumes, *Biafra: Selected Speeches and Random Thoughts*, and Gowon's *Faith in Unity* cannot qualify for this recognition, for by their very nature as public speeches they must remain partisan effusions rather than participant analyses; and Count von Rosen's memoirs, *Sam jag ser det*, are, for all his active involvement, those of a non-African actor.)

In *The Nigerian Civil War* we have the most readable account to date. It is also an inside story, of a third kind: for while Mr Oyibo is an observer mostly in the North, and Mr Akpan was a participant in the East, Mr St. Jorre was that *vera avis*, one who saw a lot of both sides in action and could write fairly of both. He sees himself as fitting in and out, as a working journalist; and, like so many in the same position, he was "drawn deeper and deeper into the human and political complexities, tragedies and heroics presented by a nation at war with itself". Though much of the text closely and conscientiously follows what may now be looked on as the received version of the war—at least until the opening to third-party researchers of archives now understandably closed—Mr St. Jorre does include a number of "new" details. His most sensational revelation comes in his chapter "The Hired Guns".

Here indeed he breaks fresh ground by trying to explain the seemingly inexplicable conundrum of the whole war: why the Federal forces so significantly failed to carry out a commando-type raid and put out of action the makeshift airstrip at Uli, used right up to the end (it was from here that Mr Akpan flew out with Ojukwu only hours before Biafra's capitulation). According to Mr St. Jorre, this was all part of mercenary collusion, the golden rule of the mercenary brotherhood that dog does not eat dog.

Uli presented the mercenaries with the double-edged dilemma. If they knocked it out, the war would quickly come to an end and they would all be out of a most lucrative job; and then, to close the airport and keep it closed, they would have had to shoot down a number of relief and arms planes, thus killing their mercenary comrades on the other side.

The result was a sort of mutual non-interference pact. Uli stayed open; relief and arms came in, and the war was prolonged—perhaps by as much as a year.

Stylistically, the outcome of narrative, analysis and personal reminiscence, playing leapfrog with each other, with frequent recourse to the historical present and reconstructed dialogue, is unusual but by no means unsuccessful. Here and there the search for the graphic strikes one as overdone. It would, for instance, be a pity if, in a book of such clear merits, the scholarly squamishness declined to read beyond the opening of *Readers Digest* and *Time Magazine* and their tatty dialogue:

"Jesus, did you see that old shifty guy with the pebble glasses?"
The waiting is getting on everyone's nerves.
"Yeah, so what?"
"So, over there. That's our pilot for Biafra."

It is only after the prologue that Mr St. Jorre gets down to the real quality of his story—and of his style.

To his fifteen chapters of admirable narrative, Mr St. Jorre has added maps, an index, a truly excellent set of photographs, a fact sheet, and a list of the cast. These are divided into their Nigerian and Biafran sides. The reader who has read his Akpan will begin to understand why General Madiebo does not feature in this list, even though he was the Biafran Chief of Staff; but would Wole Soyinka, after his months of detention by the Federal Government, really want to see himself placed on that side rather than on both—or neither?

Mr St. Jorre prefers to view his book simply as the story of the civil war, neither pure history nor pure journalism, "an attempt to cut through the choking fog of myth and propaganda that obscured the conflict, and to clarify the causes and course of the war while highlighting its rights and wrongs". This is perhaps too modest an assessment of a book that has so much in it for the specialist as well as the general reader. After *The Nigerian Civil War* it will have to be a very good book indeed to justify the publication of another general account of the war. If Mr St. Jorre has pre-empted the field, he is a most deserving winner-takes-all.

Black skin, White mask

It is more than the faintly unsettling challenge of a pen-name—*Oyibo*, as the West Africanist will recognize, is the Yoruba for "white man"—that makes *Nigeria: Crisis and Beyond* an elusive book. Inevitably, any cognoscente of Nigerian political studies will spend (or is it waste?) time on seeking to pierce the armour of the author's identity. What clues there may be are visible only to the initiated. But a similar problem of identification, the same difficulty over classification, obtains after a reading of the text. It is much more than merely a question of who Mr Oyibo really is; it is also the matter of how practicable are the lessons that he is seeking to draw for the "Beyond" of his title, and of the acceptability of the sort of advice given by a dominion to his feckless but favourite pupil—"getting on top and staying there", as Mr Oyibo concludes.

There is, of course, no doubt of the perceptiveness of Mr Oyibo's analysis of Nigerian politics as they were fought (the word is not too callous a substitute for the more conventional "played", given the graph of the First Republic's brinkmanship). It is a point of nice debate whether the coup would have ever taken place had Major Nzeogwu had more civilian friends as close as Mr Oyibo clearly was. The chapter "Conspiracy of Optimism" is the best encapsulation of the pre-coup situation yet available, while the pages on the social revolution in the North show (besides Mr Oyibo's principal locus of expertise) his continuing accuracy of assessment in matters present as well as past. Here is no fly-by-night impressionist. This is inside knowledge with an enviable

background cannot be divorced from the rationalization and the rationalization of a major bibliographically presented presentation of the war's complexity. As Professor Cervenka explains, it started as a simple decision to a short bibliography. In the mass of material soon piled up, the intention, the origin of the project remains in evidence. The project gives an idea of its structure and nature of research and reference nature of publication. The history of the project is covered in 168 pages, by no fewer than forty-five of footnotes, nearly all citing

There follow twenty-two volumes, consisting of the reproduction of selected primary documents, such as speeches and letters, and two long "secret" relating to what were just the first and the last events of four years of crisis. (Something goes wrong here, for what are in the contents separately as "Secret Documents" and "Appendix" turn out to be the same thing.) The book concludes with seventy pages of bibliography, arranged in some twenty-five subject heads. Of secondary source material, Professor Cervenka has the edge on his volumes by his inclusion of newspaper and magazine articles in European languages other than English. He makes the point that the built-in unsatisfactoriness of the European and American course to a pseudonym, "Chance", the fifth and final of this short book, is a critical of the present as well as the past. The very title echoes that of just headmaster and a leader, the prefect class, his sad anger is directed at complicity in high places in first coup; he writes of the effectiveness of the Asia

tration in rehabilitating Central State, seeing its leading ivory-tower intellectual with a sage for the ordinary man, a regime as "two years later" much might have been a political interests being wholly administrative efficiency. This gathering together by Mr Oyibo of what he refers as "some of the best African minds" is unfortunately accompanied by the usual winning an honesty confession to so many unknown names; besides the conspicuous absence of more generally acknowledged to rank among the best Africanists—for instance Mazrui, Abrahams, Rwegumamu, the cheap sneers at the non-Africanist with which the book is unlikely to commend itself to the wider community of scholarship. But then Mr

Okpaku may lay no claim to scholarship. He is a man of enviable many parts—"an established playwright, critic, author, editor, engineer and publisher", we are told—with degrees in engineering science and an incipient doctorate in theatre history. Fortunately, there are better things beyond Chapter One, for some of his contributors serve him more loyally than might have been the case within such an inauspicious framework. Mayibi Amode's overview of Nigeria's political history is a fine piece of compression; Peter Ekeh is right to emphasize the low political salience of religion in Nigeria's political issues; and Jimoh Lawal's Marxian-bound essay on class in Nigeria, though it begs the question that more and more scholars are inclined to leave open, makes interesting reading.

Nigeria: Dilemma of Nationhood is something of a dilemma itself, very much a lucky dip, with more disappointments than prizes. While everyone will applaud the rationale of the book, that "what is very important what has not been given to the public is a thorough and highly informed analysis of not so much the events but the deep undercurrents that led to the situation that made the Biafran affair inevitable", few could satisfactorily maintain that this objective is here anywhere near attained.

View from the Cabinet Room

Mr Akpan's personal memoir of the Nigerian Civil War is a courageous and important book. He is today pro-chancellor of the council of the University of Nigeria at Nsukka. He is even less of a stranger to the Biafran side of the war: Chief Secretary to the Military Government, Head of the Civil Service, and Secretary to Ojukwu's Cabinet, he held these positions till the end of the war. Indeed, Mr Akpan was one of the half-dozen top men selected by Ojukwu to accompany him on his eleventh-hour flight out of beleaguered Biafra to asylum in the Ivory Coast (where pro-Biafran President is here respectfully depicted in new colours). Few participants can have been more closely involved with the running of Biafra's wartime government than Ojukwu's chief civilian administrator. In these circumstances Mr Akpan's documented dissociation from responsibility for Ojukwu's actions must leave the intelligent reader with one question: how could

Of that war, Mr Akpan considers that, while secession was no more than an alternative, armed conflict was inevitable. "Every the person itched for a fight with the Hausas because of the events of 1966", he declares, recalling how he was mobbed by the Hausa women and children for calling for Christ, and how he was almost killed by a Hausa. He adds that he was lucky to have left the pulp it alive. Mr Akpan has disappointingly little to add to our meagre knowledge of July, 1966, and his insider's story really begins after Gowon came to power in Lagos the following month. It is precisely here that, without committing the offence of castigating an author for not having written the book that a reviewer would like to see, a puckered frown is inescapable. Mr Akpan, administrative linchpin that he was, tells us extraordinarily little about what only he can tell us: exactly how the Biafran administrative machine kept ticking over in an improvised country. This criticism is not to deny the many

excellent insights into Biafra at war that he does give us. His account also brings confirmation of many incidents of the war, too many to itemize here, that hitherto lacked the documentary evidence now produced by this authentic narrative. Mr Akpan himself tells us that he has written as one closely associated with the side that lost the war "because it is I who can best tell this aspect of the story". While fully agreeing with this, and while being grateful for the inside information that he has given us, especially on the erratic Biafran leadership, one cannot but feel that it is only an aspect and not the full story that Mr Akpan has decided to give us. Granted this limitation, the book stands as a notable contribution to the history of the Nigerian Civil War, its importance enhanced by its status as a so far rare participant record.

search team sponsored by the Federal Government? What of the rumoured military history of the campaign, for which good sources exist in field diaries and the plenitude of divisional "house" journals? What of the archives carefully collected from Biafra after January, 1970? The present reviewer has seen the memoirs of a senior Biafran officer, the diary of a soldier deserter, and the impressions of a leading civilian operator, besides a mass of private wartime letters from both sides. Such an experience cannot be unique. Even if Mr St. Jorre's book precludes the need for further general histories, there remains an overriding case for specialist studies. The whole counter-coup of July, 1966, is unexplained in detail; the many and manifold international initiatives, including the role of the relief agencies, have not been analysed; there is no study of the military strategy; and, to judge from the theses in preparation, the role of the publicly media and the pressure groups has much to offer. In all of this, and much more, the fundamental weakness of the civil war historiography remains the non-contribution of those whose war it was. There is one dimension that they alone can give to the literature.

Conspiracy of silence, or boredom?

Yet for all its richness, increased by these five books in their various ways, the historiography of the Nigerian Civil War cannot be said to be complete. Among the several dozen publications—books, pamphlets, articles, poems, ephemera—in half-a-dozen languages that fill one's Biafran bookshelf, one prominent lacuna remains. Where are the analytical contributions from the Nigerians themselves? British

journalists, American and Scandinavian activists, French sympathizers, dons from London, Oxford, Uppsala, and as far apart as Harvard and Hongkong—all are there; and more are promised. But where are the books which, almost by definition, must be anticipated as potentially the most important contributions of them all? True, we now have Mr Akpan; Azikiwe is long promised, in two mighty volumes. But, fiction and poetry and drama apart, that is it. It may be that, with the deliberate reformulation of the "war of Nigerian unification" as the "war of Nigerian unification", Nigerian scholars see a greater national value in silence. It may be that Nigerians are too bored by the past, too concerned with the countless thorny problems that the back-to-barracks process is heir to, so that they have neither the inclination nor the time to set the record straight.

Such attitudes could do more harm than good; for has not Santayana warned us that those who do not learn from history may be condemned to repeat it? It is, of course, quite unacceptable that there are no manuscripts, no records, no projects from reconstruction-bent Nigeria. What has happened to the professional re-

search team sponsored by the Federal Government? What of the rumoured military history of the campaign, for which good sources exist in field diaries and the plenitude of divisional "house" journals? What of the archives carefully collected from Biafra after January, 1970? The present reviewer has seen the memoirs of a senior Biafran officer, the diary of a soldier deserter, and the impressions of a leading civilian operator, besides a mass of private wartime letters from both sides. Such an experience cannot be unique. Even if Mr St. Jorre's book precludes the need for further general histories, there remains an overriding case for specialist studies. The whole counter-coup of July, 1966, is unexplained in detail; the many and manifold international initiatives, including the role of the relief agencies, have not been analysed; there is no study of the military strategy; and, to judge from the theses in preparation, the role of the publicly media and the pressure groups has much to offer. In all of this, and much more, the fundamental weakness of the civil war historiography remains the non-contribution of those whose war it was. There is one dimension that they alone can give to the literature.

There is, of course, yet time. Given the analogy of the American Civil War, with which Nigerian spokesmen were so fond of drawing parallels during the fighting (General Gowon reputedly kept a copy of Carl Sandburg's life of Lincoln on his desk in Dodan Barracks), the Nigerian Civil War may be refought, in retrospect and on paper, till the end of the century. By then, judgment will have been passed on the greatest challenge of the whole affair, the Federal Government's handling of the years of national reconstruction and reintegration. Will the present Lincolnian sentiment of no victors, no vanquished, have prevailed? Will it have to be said of Gowon, as it was of Lincoln, that while he was above corruption, the same claim could not be made of his administration? By 1980 will the Biafran war have justified its reclassification as the war of Nigerian unification, or must things once more fall apart? In the total historiography of the Nigerian Civil War, it is to these topics and to contributions from Nigerian participants and analysts themselves rather than to further rewriting of the ground now well covered (in the absence of access to fresh materials) that political and social historians must look forward in scholarly expectation.

Democracy Humanism and American Literature

Harold Kaplan
This book illustrates the effective interplay between democratic assumptions and literary performance in the works of America's 19th-century classic writers—Emerson, Thoreau, Hawthorne, Melville, Cooper, Poe, Whitman, Mark Twain and Henry James. Harold Kaplan suggests that there is a strong motivational similarity linking the works of these seminal authors—a commitment to the democratic ideal.

A Navigator's Universe
The "Libro de cosmographia" of 1538
Pedro de Medina
Translated and with an Introduction by Ursula Lamb

The *Libro de cosmographia*, published here for the first time, is the work of Pedro de Medina, a leading cosmographer of 16th-century Spain. Seen through his eyes, the state of contemporary knowledge of the earth and the universe emerges in fascinating detail. Medina's manuscript, written in a clear gothic hand, is reproduced in facsimile.

The Uruk Countryside
The Natural Setting of Urban Societies
Robert M. G. Adams and Hans J. Nissen
The authors of this book are concerned with the conditions accompanying the first appearance of urban life, of which the city of Uruk—one of the largest in ancient Southern Mesopotamia—is the prime example. Using data from archaeological surveys and from studies of hydrology and ecology, they analyse the changing patterns of rural settlement and irrigation agriculture that produced and sustained the city.

The Progress of Society in Europe
A Historical Outline from the Subversion of the Roman Empire to the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century
William Robertson
Edited and with an Introduction by Felix Gilbert

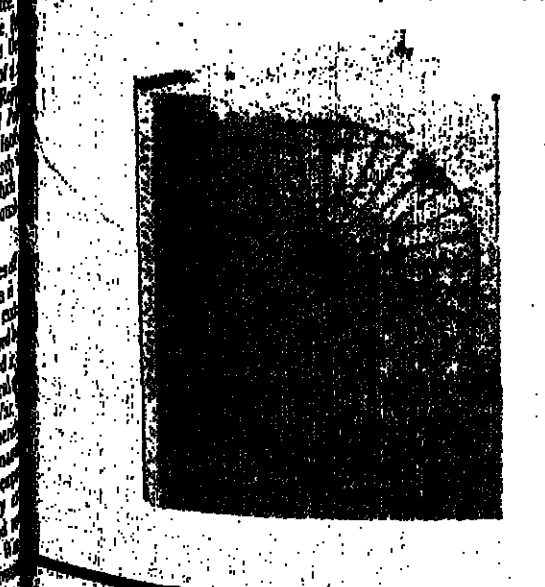
The *Progress of Society in Europe*, Robertson's most famous work, was written as the first section of his *History of the Reign of the Emperor Charles V*. More than an introduction, it was designed as a complete survey of the contemporary political situation, showing the process by which a civilized and enlightened world had evolved from raw and primitive beginnings.

The Portuguese Language
J. Malloa Camara, Jr.
Translated by Anthony J. Nero
A distillation of a lifetime's scholarly activity by Brazil's foremost linguist, *The Portuguese Language* is the first complete account of the Portuguese language to appear in English. It is, furthermore, the only thoroughly structural treatment available in any language, and thus fills an important gap in the technical literature of linguistics.

Estrogen Target Tissues and Neoplasia
Edited by Thomas L. Deo
In June 1970, oncologists gathered at Roswell Park Memorial Institute in Buffalo, New York, to present their most recent findings on the endocrine aspects of human and experimental mammary cancer. This volume, a compilation of workshop papers, introductory remarks, discussions and summaries, presents the proceedings of the conference.

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Life and verse

CHRISTOPHER RICKS:
Tennyson
349pp. Macmillan, £3.95.

At a time when many literary critics prefer to keep to criticism and to leave biography to the biographers, Christopher Ricks successfully demonstrates how revealing a general biographical and critical study of a poet can be. His shrewd and sympathetic record of the facts of Tennyson's life helps us to focus more sharply on the distinctive features of Tennyson's work. The unhappy father, the instances of melancholy and madness in the Somersby home, the hostility between the two branches of the family, Tennyson's brief and thwarted love for Rosa Baring who was socially beyond his reach, the sudden death of his close friend Arthur Hallam, and his awareness throughout of the brutal materialism of the world around him—all of these, more or less transformed, enter into *Maud*. Admittedly, a knowledge of them can cause us to misread *Maud* if we do not accept the control of the text; but a knowledge of them can also alert us to things that really are in the poem.

For his critical purposes, Professor Ricks draws not only on the biographical material that has been much augmented during recent decades but also on the textual material that he himself assembled for his valuable annotated edition of Tennyson's poems. Moreover, he is now free to quote from the manuscripts at Trinity College, Cambridge. His intimacy both with Tennyson's normal methods of composition and with the unique processes which yielded certain individual poems enables him freshly to illuminate works

as different as *In Memoriam* and *Idylls of the King*.

One of Tennyson's methods in particular gets close attention. This is his regular resort to self-quotation, especially from the very considerable mass of manuscripts that he accumulated, without seeking publication, during the richly creative years from 1833 to 1840. His sure sense of context and his lifelong preoccupation with time receive frequent illustration in the examples Professor Ricks analyses. The suggestion follows that these self-borrowings had for Tennyson the same emotional importance as had his accurate descriptions of external things, in that they steadied a mind much obsessed with the melancholy contemplation of unending processes.

Professor Ricks responds readily and sensitively to what Whitman called Tennyson's "finest verbalism". He has a quick ear for the play of sound, and a subtle understanding of the play of mind, in what he reads. Since he has chosen to see the poems in the context of Tennyson's life and of his characteristic methods of composition, it seems natural that he should draw the Victorian critics into his discussion of their significance and value. Not that he neglects his own contemporaries; on the contrary, he acknowledges special debts to several. But again and again it is a Victorian who offers a formulation of an idea that Professor Ricks then develops in more modern terms. He does not trouble to adopt these, however, when he closes his book with an earnest and convincing endorsement of "Tennyson's uncluttered claim to the central humanity of a great poet".

This compact but comprehensive study seems likely to remain for the foreseeable future our most useful and stimulating general introduction to Tennyson's poetry and life.

Chatterton lives!

LINDA KELLY:
The Marvellous Boy
147pp. Weidenfeld and Nicolson, £2.75.

The Marvellous Boy suffers from an uncertainty about its purpose. On the one hand, it is an original and useful historical study of Chatterton's transformation into a figure of literary legend; yet, on the other, it seems unable to cope critically with its new information, and sentimentally tends to accept the legend at its own valuation, with some of the cloying partisanship of Kipling's poem on the Janelles. Linda Kelly seems surprisingly bland both about Chatterton and about his admirers, taking his greatness for granted; and, in apothecising in her last paragraph, he joins hands with Jimi Hendrix, Janis Joplin and Che Guevara as "the precursor of the cult figures of our time: actors, musicians, revolutionaries, whose early death has made them symbols". This attempt to popularize Chatterton is vulgar, absurd, because his poetry would be of not the slightest interest to the generation Miss Kelly seems to want to attract to him, and unhistorical, because Chatterton's significance lies in his relation to his own period, those years of interregnum between Augustanism and Romanticism.

The organization of the book is characteristically uncritical: Miss Kelly is content to print extracts from the poems between the three sections of her narrative (Chatterton's life, the Rowley controversy, and the legend) undisturbed by analysis or examination. This shows the engaging naivety of the enthusiast, who thinks it sufficient to show off a favourite's beauties without further argument. His status is asserted, confidently but bathetically: *Alia* is described as a "masterpiece", unreadable as it is; *Edmond*, its villain, is compared with Iago; and the "Minstrel's Roundelay" is simply announced as the most famous of the work's lyrical interludes and then quoted, with no

attempt to convince us of its poetic attractions. Criticism has given way to puffing.

Miss Kelly's valedictory assertion is that "the poetry remains, more lasting than the legend"; but surely the reverse is true, and Miss Kelly's narrative seems covertly to agree, for though it simply points to the poems it does interestingly and valuably describe the varied use made of Chatterton by Keats, Alfred de Vigny (whose self-pity had melted Chatterton into those other martyred souls, Werther and André Chénier), I can-evallo (in whose opera the heroine, after discovering the dead poet, tumbles down a staircase to her death), and the painful case of the poet's biographer, F. H. W. Meyerstein, whose melancholia, misogyny and literary frustration fed upon the legend until he comes to remind us of Dickens's Mr Dick and King Charles's head. Meyerstein's epitaph for himself, limping and drooping sadly under its weight of self-pity, foretells that

Full many an one
Shall raise the song o'er me
In abeyance
Although I buried be;
And if I have a name
Be carved on it:
"One Thomas Chatterton
Turned this man's wit".

Chatterton not only wrote badly himself—and Hazlitt was surely correct in his judgment that there is nothing in his poems so extraordinary as the age at which they were written—but was the cause of much bad writing in others. He was the cause, however, of some interesting drawing and painting: Flaxman's sketch of him receiving the poison from the Spirit of Despair has the Gothic excitement of Fuseli's illustrations of *Macbeth*, and the composition rises from the realistic refuse of Chatterton's life on the floor, the poet's scribbles to the billowing, thunderous drama in the sky which opens behind his bed, with Apollo driving his chariot into the heights.

In a variant of the transformations of history painting, the scene of tragic chaos, anticipates a picture of another literary fiend, Napoleon's marshalling of Henry Wallis's picture as turns from Gothic to sentimental: the agonising, tenebrous violence of the scene, and in their place, the sentimental stream of the open window of the genre, the quality of the figure on the quill, the Shelley memorial in city College, Oxford, and a recumbent, floating Millais's picture.

Flaxman's Gothic drama in Wallis into the only narrative method of the genre painter; Chatterton, elegantly expressive, as it might be described as a room, the sketch assembled by the sketcher, the jacket lying on the side chair, the bottle of the dead hand, and the flourish on the lamp, the Old Bailey vanish over with a complacent Victorianism. Wallis's Chatterton is a relative of Little Nell.

Carlyle considered that works of Burns were far better than his acted ones, and that this was the only quarter server, the jacket lying on the side chair, the bottle of the dead hand, and the flourish on the lamp, the Old Bailey vanish over with a complacent Victorianism. Wallis's Chatterton is a relative of Little Nell.

Theology and literature

MATTHEW ARNOLD:
Essays Religious and Mixed
Edited by R. H. Super
551pp. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, \$15.

The Michigan edition of Matthew Arnold's prose writings continues to move with the "unperturbed pace, Deliberate speed, majestic instancy" of a giant American transporter of moon rockets towards its final destination, now only three volumes away: *Essays Religious and Mixed* is Volume VIII and deserves the same enthusiasm with which its predecessors have been received. It spans the years 1875-78 during which Arnold, as several self-conscious and only partly ironic references indicate, began to feel old (he was in his early fifties). It is made up principally of two of his books, *Last Essays on Church and Religion* (1877), perhaps the most "thorny" collection of Arnold's essays, and *Mixed Essays* (1879), in which he showed that he could resist the recent exclusiveness of his theological addition. There are also a few shorter pieces, the most important of which is the preface to a selection of Johnson's *Lives of the Poets*.

Arnold's *Last Essays* sold even less well than *God and the Bible*, but it is the sales of the earlier book had been disappointing. "I shall have to turn to ballad-singing and to leave the house mechanically at five," he wrote ruefully to George Smith, adding, "I think, we will try this one volume mixed up with it, and that may help it along." This "one volume mixed up" is *Mixed Essays*. After *Last Essays* had committed Arnold to a life of ballad-singing, the good deal of literature mixed up with it, to enjoy "A French Critic on Milton". A French Critic on

Goethe, the commemorative "George Sand" with its nostalgic account of Arnold's visit to Nohant in 1846 (Chopin with his "wonderful eyes" was present and tea was drunk), and "Folkland". Even R. H. Super's healthy appetite for Arnold's theological and religious writings seems to have been sated by *Last Essays*—he finds "Bishop Butler and the Zeit-Geist" a tired performance and is almost wretched for once when he says, quite correctly, of "A Last Word on the Burial Bill" that it "does not escape, if not absurdity, at least triviality". On the other hand, to be fair to the editor, he makes high claims for "A Psychological Parallel", which was given pride of place in *Last Essays*, arguing that it "bears much the same relation to Arnold's religious writings that the essay on 'The Function of Criticism at the Present Time' has to *Essays in Criticism*".

It is agreeable to see Professor Super dispensing his own critical judgments rather more freely in *Essays Religious and Mixed* than in earlier volumes of his edition. He has earned the right to make them, although we may not always agree with him. "A Guide to English Literature" is indeed "by no means one of Arnold's best essays", but it is a decent, if too granular, review of Stopford Brooke's primer. "Folkland" is described as "on the whole half-hearted", but this is altogether unfair about a graceful piece of writing about an historical figure whom Arnold had always found peculiarly sympathetic. Folkland, "our martyr of sweetness and light", was ineffective because he was not a partisan; he had not "the temperament which influences, which prevails, which acts magnetically upon men". "Who in Arnold's view had?" The answer is "the Philistine of genius in religion—Luther; the Philistine of genius in

politics—Cromwell". The text in Arnold disliked Penn's enthusiasm. The poet in love with Graham Greene.

In the absence of "David omitted because already properly chronological, Volume 11 of the Michigan Edition" is the most of the non-literary pieces in *Essays*, and a useful collection of those who sniff out nothing in *Culture and America*. Tawney thought well of a passage of his own book in a very reasonable "Arnold's style". Among the pieces in *Essays Religious and Mixed* a few lines in the preface to *Johnson's Lives of the Poets* and very much to the point. "Land", writes Arnold, "the notion seems to be that advanced in two ways by forever adding fresh to instruction, and by presenting just the opposite of Educational planners and of the curriculum please note."

Edward Arnold's "Poetry is designed to 'introduce' to the young student a general reader: more or less introductions are followed by mead dialogues, featuring a particular author, the editor, and his conversation with the student. In *Shakespeare*, back, 67p, the editor, Tawney, sets out his own view on the subject of the student's modesty—and then, modestly, his context and the book as a whole, and thought."

Walking around pre-Revolutionary Paris

GERMAIN BRICE:
Description de la ville de Paris et de tout ce qu'elle contient de plus remarquable
Edited by Pierre Codet.
150pp plus facsimile. Geneva: Droz, Paris: Minard, 70 Sw fr.

Michel Gallet:
Paris Domestique Architecture of the 18th Century
Translated by James C. Palmes.
196pp. Harrie and Jenkins, £6.

could, he thought, only lead to moral turpitude and to the eventual destruction of the Metropolis. Mariette and Pécourt were likewise moral physicians; and they further emphasized that the enormous extent of unproductive monastic buildings, all of them surrounded by huge gardens, could only increase the misery of the poor and contribute to the development of slum conditions in the surviving older quarters.

Brice, who owed much of his success to his position, from the 1680s, of Guide, Philosopher and Friend to the young Catholic princes of the Rhineland and of the other German states and to his profitable connections with the House of Saxony, wrote his *Description* with a very practical aim in view. It was his task not only to *describer*, to smarten up these young noblemen, and his clientele extended to the Lubomirski and the Radziwiłł families in the East to teach them the rules of deportment, but also to provide them with competent riding masters; at the time of the Peace of Utrecht, there were seven riding schools in the faubourg Saint-Germain alone; by 1752, there were only three, a contraction perhaps due to the relative decline of the diplomatic position of France in Europe. Brice himself took them on in Divinity and Latin, as well as giving them a smattering of history (very much a smattering, for the earlier editions of the *Description* reveal the *abbé's* own uncertain knowledge of pre-Valois France).

Anticipating
Baedeker

But his principal concern was to provide his pupils with a walking guide of Paris. It was perhaps the cure with which this guide was arranged that accounted for its enormous success throughout the century: there was nothing to rival it till the publication of Mercier's *Le Tableau de Paris*, between 1782 and 1788, and Mercier was in any case more concerned with social observation than topography and the description of buildings and monuments. Brice gave his young German clientele the sort of minute, detailed, rather ponderous guide that the great Baedeker was to provide their Wilhelminian compatriots in the nineteenth century.

For this purpose, he divided his guide into three main divisions: "la Ville", "l'Université", "la Cité". Within these broad categories, he established a series of walks, in logical sequence, street leading into street, and designed to take half a day each, with a pause for lunch, a meal well earned, if the itinerary had been strictly adhered to, for they were pretty hefty walks. Brice's young princelings must have been in tip-top physical condition: though, in the early eighteenth century, even the fat prince of the House of Hanover

could not doubt be expected to cover plenty of ground on foot. The walks start, logically, with the Louvre, the Tuileries, the quarters of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, Saint-Honoré, the Butte Saint-Roch, already quite a heavy programme. Thence to the Halles, the rues Saint-Denis and Saint-Martin, Sainte-Avoye, the rues du Grand-Chantier, Vieille du Temple, Saint-Louis, place Royale and neighbourhood, rue and faubourg Saint-Antoine, l'Arc de Triomphe (later the place du Trône), the château de Vincennes, and back by Reuilly, the Célestins, Quartier Saint-Paul, le Notre-Dame, Saint-Victor, Jardin Royal, the Gobelins and the faubourg Saint-Marcel, a truly massive loop, the equivalent of a couple of present-day Métro lines. The other walks take in the rest of the left bank.

Brice provided a completely comprehensive tour of the city; and he was not afraid of exposing his more delicate princelings to some of the filthiest, most stinking and most overcrowded quarters of Paris; it was not just a *Tournee des Grands Dames* of the high spots, of the new centres of luxury. Perhaps his walks were also to have a moral purpose.

Brice and his successors are much given to general statistical information which, one can reasonably assume, was highly inaccurate and was based on inspired guesswork on the part of the physiocratic *abbé*, who had no doubt drawn some of his inspiration from Vauban. Thus, in the 1752 edition, the authors, while taking into account the effects both of war and dearth, especially in the first three decades of the century, Brice in particular was well aware, as a churchman and as a specialist of ecclesiastical painting, of the weight of the 1709 famine on Parisian popular memory—some out with the amazing statement that the total population of the city at the time of publication was in the range of 800,000, including 150,000 servants. We do know, with some accuracy, that on the eve of the Revolution Paris contained between 600,000 to 750,000 inhabitants, domestic servants forming about 13 per cent of the total; and we can also surmise that the population of the city had been steadily increasing in the previous twenty years, so that we can place the 1752 figure in the same category of hit-or-miss fantasy which by behind a great many of Mercier's statements in the 1780s.

Mercier, for instance, was never at a loss to quote a figure: 232 middle-class girls a year, he confidently affirms, had abortions in discreet *maisons de santé* in the early 1780s. Of course he has no means of knowledge of the population of the city had been steadily increasing in the previous twenty years, so that we can place the 1752 figure in the same category of hit-or-miss fantasy which by behind a great many of Mercier's statements in the 1780s.

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Brice is certainly on safer ground, when enumerating the number of houses built since the Peace. These were, after all, visible, and we do know that he took a great deal of trouble to see for himself what was going on, just as he displayed a grimly

ecclesiastical persistence in attempting to force open recalcitrant doors, in order to scout out the pictures and works of art in the possession of named patrons and connoisseurs. He was not easily turned away, and, when he was, the owner received a veiled reference in the book, as if he had sinned personally against the *abbé's* princely cares. We can then accept his successors' figures for the number of street lamps, quarter by quarter. *La lanterne*, at this time, had not acquired its sinister significance of 1789. The record goes to the prosperous rue Saint-Martin, the very quintessence of Paris civility, of "l'esprit parisien", with a total of 415; next come Saint-Germain-des-Près (396), the Marais (361), the Palais-Royal (341), Saint-Antoine (333). At the other end of the scale, we find Sainte-Opportune (152), Saint-Jacques-de-la-Boucherie (183) and les Halles (142).

Generally speaking, the more recently built quarters, those containing the greatest number of *hôtels*, are better lit. In other words, street lighting was directed primarily towards the defence of property and the safety of the upper classes, while quarters like Sainte-Avoye and the Gravières could be left to the twinkle of poverty, disease and squalor (the *abbé* and his successors classify both parishes and churches in terms of smell; before 1714, Brice states, the faubourg Saint-Honoré had been neglected for building purposes, owing to the stink of the great sewers, and the prevalence of disease, while he displays the enthusiasm of an estate agent in vaunting the fine air of Saint-Germain-des-Près; Saint-Merri, along with some of the other finest Gothic churches still surviving, is dismissed as "dirty, ill-lit and stinking"). Brice adding that the Paris churches as a whole are the dirtiest in Europe, but he had never been to Poland or the Russian Empire). The figures for street lighting in 1752 are confirmed, for the revolutionary period, in the late General Herlaut's famous thesis, written while on the General Staff during the First World War, on *L'éclairage à Paris pendant la Révolution*.

Popular beliefs
and superstitions

In his industrious enumeration of pictures, works of art, buildings worthy of attention, church architecture and charitable institutions, Brice comes in the way of a great deal of information which must be of the greatest value to the social historian, even though the *Description* has been used by the most extensively by art historians and specialists of the history of architecture. Urban history is a whole and Brice is an integral part of it. Writing both during the terrible crises of the late seventeenth century and again, shortly after the famine of 1709 and, in his eighth edition, just after the disastrous rains of the spring and summer of 1725, this tutor to the sons of the German nobility proves himself to be acutely aware of the calendar of popular fears as well as of that of disease and recurrent epidemics. The extension of the Hôpital Saint-Louis, he informs us, was provoked by an unprecedented outbreak of scurvy, following the 1709 crisis, and he mentions the two vulture pictures of the two de Troys, father and son, kept in the church of Sainte-Genève, the one depicting the blessed fall of rain, following a long period of drought in 1709, the other the equally blessed break in the rain clouds in 1725, both attributed to the direct intervention of Sainte-Genève. Both pictures were brought out in the annual procession for that specifically Paris saint. However irregular the eighteenth century may have been at its higher levels, the merciful changes of the season are still the object of popular thanksgiving.

Equally, he notes, on the second Saturday of each month, the cult of the Virgin will bring a record congregation to the image of Notre-Dame-du-Mont Carmel, in the church of the Carmes. Elsewhere he comments on the subject of the church of le Petit-Saint-Antoine ("obscure et mal-propre"), on the disappearance of some of the most feared diseases of the poor. "Cet

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Viewpoint

BY GEOFFREY GRIGSON

IN Scott's *Journal*, republished lately, I came across this about Wordsworth: "Wordsworth has a system which disposes him to take the bull by the horns and offend public taste, which right or wrong will always be the taste of the public, yet he could be popular if he would." And this: "I was glad to see my old friend whose conversation has so much that is fresh and manly in it. I do not at all acquiesce in his system of poetry and I think he has injured his own fame by adhering to it."

In looking through a book of drawings I came on one by Rowlandson of a timid author with thin shanks standing by a supercilious publisher with a big belly on fat legs; his sales were evidently low. In a new book on Giovanni Verga, I find Verga writing in a letter that "we have to stay in this via crucis of ours beset with vexations and publishers"; and in another letter about the failure of *I Malavoglia*—"a total and complete fiasco"—that even his publishers said outright it was bad, that people avoided him as if he had committed a sin, that he would write his book all over again in exactly the same way, and that he needed all the strength of his convictions "to refrain from writing those silly niceties which please the public—and to laugh behind their backs afterwards."

So I ask myself, looking round, what is the nature of a public? For ourselves, as for successful Scott? And for more or less unsuccessful Wordsworth, and, elsewhere, more or less unsuccessful Giovanni Verga? I ask myself if that dead and good man Sir Walter Scott, who flashed a proper independence now and then inside his doggy dependence, didn't express in those few comments about Wordsworth an English situation which isn't constant, but does certainly repeat itself?

"He could be popular if he would." "He has injured his own fame." Wiggle your tail, Wordsworth, for the public biscuit. Worry about your fame. After yourself, my manly friend. It is as much as to say—it is, always being said, it is, in 1972, as ever, the insistence of literary journalism—that the public to please is the immediate one.

This thoroughly amiable, voluminous scribbler from the Lowlands would like no one to avoid him as if his latest romance had been the commission of a sin. He isn't cynical, but a timeless public does not interest him. He conforms. And the kernel of the immediate public he conforms to is, more narrowly, that self-regarding club of those "in power": Scott is parroting and sharing a club reaction to copyist Wordsworth: he is saying to himself—himself the natural amateur and outsider—that the professional should acquiesce (which, alas, Wordsworth, the grand professional, the grand insider, had already done in his Waterloo Odes and would do again when—let some present consciences be in ferment—he sealed his concluding self as Poet Laureate, and Lost Leader).

in our Late Athenian vice of whoring after the new long before yesterday's new is old, cold, or absorbed; we might act more, or discern more, by a proper contemporaneity of the past in our literature; we might be able to depose criticism from its now absurd theological dominance.

In short, were there such writers enough of them, loosely associated—then the right writers might be acknowledged to be in charge of their own art.

That would be a change. We might also be released then, I forgot to say, from a plague of little magazines related only to the self-regard of their editors, and from a prodigious plague of idle incompetent poets, off our own muckheaps, and imported; of all sizes, in every milieu from St Ives to the Cotswolds or the Poetry Society, or the public poetry reading, or the English departments of the new universities.

That example of Scott, best of men in so many ways, but not of writers, may warn us, also, against a constant insidiousness. Intelligent, friendly, half-interested, yes; he even knew where his limits ran (as in his confession about Jane Austen and her talent for "the involvements and feelings and characters of ordinary life").

"The Big Bow Wow strain I can do myself like any now going but the exquisite touch which renders ordinary commonplace things and characters interesting from the truth of the description and the sentiment is denied to me." Turn to him on Wordsworth—his friend, he insists, the poet who asks for the exercise of sensibility and intellect and just a little trouble; or turn to him on an evening with Coleridge: he fails in witness; even when alone, in his journal.

English literary association—all literary association?—is full of these genial fellows. They face every way. They don't undress in private (read, in Harold Nicolson's diary, the entries on a meal with Joyce, and a meal with André Gide). But you cannot abolish them. That is the Leavisite morality, and fallacy, and naivety that they wouldn't be here, if only our condition could be one of health.

You can inoculate yourself against them, that is all, by an unrelenting commitment to as many kinds and constituents as possible of the best. Publicly, too; in whatever writing ways your living has to be earned.

I conclude that in our recent decades, a bad moment for ourselves was when Auden left for the United States. It does seem from a distance that over there he has been the nucleus for an honesty, intelligence and subtlety which have enabled one not necessarily remarkable talent to help another. Whereas in England, in my writing time, unaffiliated talents have often hindered each other. They have fraternized with the genial fellows (this is sometimes called mellowing). The result—weakness, fragmentation, isolation, disagreement, confusion, lack of nerve and the whole insolence of a literary underworld.

If there were such writers (of course the ones I have mentioned still are; we still have their writings; two of them are still about; I am emphasizing what the active force would be of such a miscellaneous presence), then the amateur could less easily strut as the professional, the journalist would be less cocky about what he thinks is his own judgment.

If there were such writers, academics and art officials (the Arts Council, the BBC, etc) also would, or could, be less bullying, less fly-witted, less obedient to vulgar notions of what is both earnest and energetic in new writing.

If there were such writers, it might be possible that a Royal Society of Literature would have for its president and chairman authors of some what more achievement than the good Lords Butler and Birkenhead (that stiff egregious society I see, was too much even for Sir Walter—)

I do not belong to the Society... I don't like your Royal Academies of this kind; they almost all fall into jobs and the Members seldom those who do credit to the literature of a country; and it might be that a newspaper, *The Times*, wouldn't confuse the wider society; in its columns of obituary and fulsomeness to a Maurice Bowra where (but this was years ago) it disposed of the red beard and reputation and living works of awkward D. H. Lawrence in a quarter of a column.

If there were such writers, we might in England be at least checked: That Mob of Writers who teach Creative Writing.

That Mob of University Critics who intrude into Writing.

That Mob of University Editors who include with Folly; and exclude with Folly.

That Mob of Lowlanders who write in Lallans.

That Mob of Welshmen who write in Welsh so that (next to) no one in or out of Wales can estimate what they write.

That Mob of Scotch Editors who edit Scotch anthologies in which an English, Irish or Welsh poet becomes Scotch because of his Grandmother.

That Mob of Welsh Editors who edit Welsh anthologies in which an English, Irish or Scotch poet becomes Welsh because of his Grandmother.

That Mob of Englishmen who vulgarly shorten their given names and read Themselves in public.

That Mob of Poets who teach Creative Writing.

That Mob of Writers who teach Creative Writing.

In our situation don't let us fail to accept a prize, if it comes your way, be a fool and suppose the prizes for writing is anything extraordinary act of ill-consideration and foolishness. Applauds (the idea); let's have prizes, bigger prizes. On Smith wrote a good poem called *To School*!

Let all the little poets be gathered together in the one place. And let prizes be given to the best. And let them be sure to call little poets. And worse follow what's bad. But do not expect the Mob to do this. Why look already how far off it flows, she is a flow.

An industrialist's annual of £1,000 has now been directed books of verse to books for the Welsh. Observing the Welsh Lord Chancellor makes the educated English incurious and mean about the literatures of our common country. That Welsh attitudes, too, barbarous. Where is this Wales as part of European culture? are the readily purchasable editions of the great Welsh (with English translations) under Welsh blankets? All the Welsh bookshops? All the Welsh under a Cardigan? It goes on the signposts, second-hand literature will reverse the postcard the words. Isn't the choice Wales to welcome the English parade a cultural cheerfulness substance (if they exist), and being a culturally secretive will be that or Daily Post in a few years.

Duckworth books

The Political Economy of Education

by JOHN VAIZEY
with KEITH NORRIS
and JOHN SHEEHAN

In 1902 Professor Vaizey published an introduction to *Economics of Education*, an argument by people he reserved for "some extreme cases" as "some extreme cases" in the book he works out these in detail. The result is a monumental, important and sophisticated piece of research carried out with the help of a young economist on a grant seriously interested in the subject. It is a book that should be read by all who are troubled to waste through it, the first with the algebraic analysis of the cost-benefit analysis of education, the economic use of human capital and the present analyses in order to get the clearer waters of education comparisons and the amount of work that has gone into improving these. It is important to overemphasise the value of it.

Value for money? New Studies

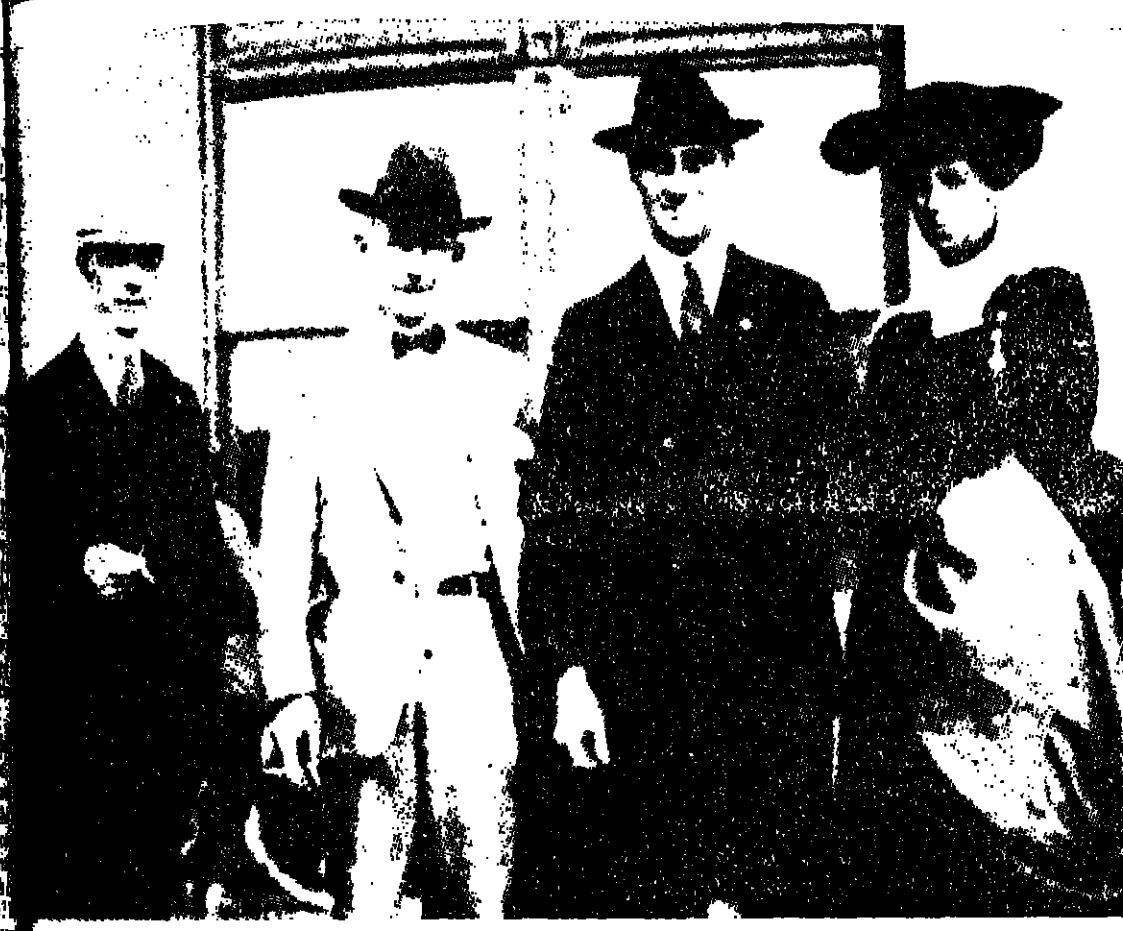
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by ANN LIVERMORE

Duckworth books



The Roosevelts campaigning in 1920, with Ellis Howe and Thomas Lynch

The New Deal and the First Lady

R. ALAN LAWSON:
The Failure of Independent Liberalism, 1930-1941
322pp. New York: Putnam, \$7.95.

JOSEPH P. LASH:
Eleanor and Franklin
705pp. André Deutsch, £4.75.

but one wonders whether Mr Lawson is not straining too hard to bring within one framework every writer or thinker who refused to see in the New Deal the kind of radicalism they desired. He anticipates this criticism by discovering connecting links in the rejection of both ideology and the intellectual foundations of capitalism.

Generally, they sought a unitary state founded on some natural principle—scientific efficiency, coordination of regional resources, ethnic harmony, or the common inheritance of an ancient Western culture rather than upon an intellectualized system of thought. The abstract absolutism offered by such as the Communists and the Fascists, and, for that matter, by the Liberty League, repelled them in its form as well as its doctrine.

This synthesis may, however, be so broad that it merely demonstrates the difficulty in preventing "independent liberalism" as a coherent alternative to the New Deal. Moreover, after 1936, many of the "independent liberals" (like the Supreme Court) followed the election returns and decided that a New Deal half-loaf was better than no bread in the wilderness.

The great weakness of "pragmatic rationalism" lay in the failure of its adherents to get down to cases. John Dewey could write: "The human ideal is indeed comprehensive... but the problem of production of change is one of infinite attention to means, and means can be determined only by definite analysis of the conditions of each problem as it presents itself." In practice, Dewey and his followers usually lacked the information with which to analyse "the conditions of each problem as it presents itself," and too often they depended upon the unreal assumption that "a problem" could somehow be

abstracted and studied in isolation. The politicians who knew that this was impossible were in practice a great deal more pragmatic than their critics, who slipped into bland rhetoric at precisely the moment that the going became difficult.

Mr Lawson rightly points out that the New Deal not only failed to solve most of the immediate economic and social problems, but also left a legacy of evasion in dealing with "the great issues of race, control over science, economic imbalance, conservation, and the need of a nation of shared viable ideals"; but when he suggests that the "independent liberals" might have faced these profound problems, he fails to carry conviction. What he does do is to document the propensity of American intellectuals during the 1930s (and perhaps since that time) to shy away from the problems of power, to appeal to "values," without defining them, and to lay down a barrage of words rather than face the prospect of being pinned down to positive statements. Indeed his book is a case-study in the perennial problem of why some of the most intelligent men in the American nation seem to exercise so little influence upon affairs.

It is clear that, by reawakening interest in the "independent liberals" of the 1930s, Mr Lawson hopes to contribute something to present controversy. We have, finally, the present malaise to ponder. America has not become happy. The decline of independent liberalism at the end of the 1930s was followed by a steadily deepening pessimism. That depression of the spirit coincided with the establishment of a moderate political consensus that kept ideology and utopia at bay and plea for radical change a disaffected and seldom heard rumble from below.

There is a kind of paradox here, for what has paralysed "independent liberalism" is not consensus at the centre but thunder on the left. There was a time when independent critics and non-ideological radicals found themselves threatened from the centre; but that time has passed, and the intellectual heirs of Dewey, Agor and Mumford—or, for that matter, of Edward Bellamy, Henry George and Thorstein Veblen—have with-

drawn into ineffectiveness because they cannot understand contemporary radicalism and are intensely disturbed by its manifestations. It is, therefore, possible that what Mr Lawson has analysed is not the thought of men who saw farther ahead than the men in power, but the late and final flowering of nineteenth-century liberalism. With the possible exception of Mumford, the independent liberals—whether pragmatist or traditionalist—had little to say that was original. Their variations on familiar themes were sophisticated rather than stirring. They said and wrote a great deal, but little that was memorable. Mr Lawson has done very well to bring these American intellectuals into the open for appraisal; but the lessons to be learnt may not be those which he hopes to impart.

Was the New Deal a series of superficial responses to immediate difficulties? Can it be chronicled as the history of administration, politics, and the making of laws? Did it embody or generate a new social philosophy? How much did it depend upon the ideas of Roosevelt himself, or was Roosevelt a superb opportunist who recognized and exploited ideas generated in society at large? Was it "the age of Roosevelt" or something else? Many will take up *Eleanor and Franklin* with these questions in mind. As they read, other questions may be formulated: was Franklin Roosevelt a strong, intensely ambitious and politically astute man, lacking real principles and often indifferent to the feelings of others? Or was he deeply sensitive, intuitively aware of the long-term needs, and constantly looking for gains which could be made permanent? If the first was the true Roosevelt, was it his wife's special role to keep him aware of the moral basis upon which any reforms must rest; and if the second, was she a special agent who could spy out the land and test opinion without committing the President?

Wisely, perhaps, Joseph Lash does not come down heavily on the side of either interpretation, and allows us to assume that their relationship (like that of other intelligent and pre-occupied people) was complex and never completely consistent. He came to know Eleanor Roosevelt when he was engaged in student politics in 1938. He helped Elliott Roosevelt to edit the second and fourth volumes of Franklin's letters, and was chosen by the Roosevelt family to write Eleanor's biography based on her extensive papers at Hyde Park. The book has an enthusiastic foreword by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. and an introduction by Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr. One may assume that it would not have received these endorsements if it had contained material for opinions which an insider knew to be wrong or misleading, but, as Mr Roosevelt sensibly remarks:

Each of us sees a person differently. My brothers and sister in our family confides have often argued vehemently, through hiving, about our parents. It was natural that Joe Lash would see some matters differently from us... But I felt from the beginning that this had to be the writer's book.

What remains as debatable ground is not insignificant; it covers, indeed, most of the questions raised above.

Mrs Roosevelt was the one person in the United States who was certain of getting access to the President, and it would therefore be absurd to expect a flow of correspondence between them. Eleanor occasionally passed on to other correspondents opinions expressed by the President, but in a formal and guarded way; usually after obtaining his approval. She passed on to him great many letters or newspaper clippings and he sometimes returned them with comments (usually limited to two or three words). There is, therefore, very little evidence, in all the mass of papers at Hyde Park, which documents the influence of Eleanor on Franklin. Nor was Mrs Roosevelt more expansive and less discreet in her later years.

The real relationship between a husband and wife is, indeed, one of the most difficult for historians to understand, and the fact that both Roosevelts were public figures makes the difficulty greater, not less. The extent of this void in the sources can be appreciated when it is realized

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Oxford University Press

Setting about changing the world

VIRGINIA HELD, KAI NIELSEN,
CHARLES PARSONS (Editors):
Philosophy and Political Action
282pp. Oxford University Press.
Paperback, £1.40.

It is notorious—in some eyes scandalous—that philosophers have never agreed about the political obligations of philosophy. Plato's image of the traveller caught in a storm has always suggested that the philosopher is a citizen of no earthly city, even if he would be a king in Utopia. And Hegel's famous dictum about philosophy always arriving on the scene *post factum* seems to find its natural sequel in Marx's decision to abandon philosophy for materialist sociology and revolutionary activism. The contributors to *Philosophy and Political Action*, on the other hand, seem to have been invigorated by the simultaneous disarray of the American polity and the American university. The book mostly consists of papers read to the Society for Philosophy and Public Affairs founded in New York after the upheavals of 1968. They are as good an advertisement for the society's success as its excellent new journal has been. Far from resenting the pressures put on them by students and political activists, the contributors give every appearance of welcoming the chance to devote their considerable capacity and energy to issues whose importance is obvious to the most unacademic of audiences. And this they have done without sacrificing anything in the way of scholarship or rigour. Which might not be a matter of note, but it is.

Unsurprisingly, the contributors focus on three main issues. The first is the familiar problem of "reform versus revolution": the question whether slow, peaceful change is more practicable and more morally defensible than rapid and probably violent change. The second is the problem of political obligation, or, more exactly, the morality of default-

ing on our legal obligations in the name of overriding moral considerations. And the last is the question of what peculiar responsibilities philosophers have, if, indeed, they have any that go beyond the duties of all citizens.

The level of discussion is so high partly because the writers are not afraid to dirty their hands with the details of historical and legal evidence. This is particularly evident in Peter Caws's essay on "Reform and Revolution", which draws on a good deal of recent discussion about the "great revolutions" and their more recent offshoots. He neatly demolishes Engel's employment of the so-called "law of the transformation of quantity into quality" in order to re-employ it in a very Marxian manner to explain the concept of an epochal revolution. This is the situation where eventually nothing is the same as it was at the beginning of the process, and yet there has only been a sequence of quantitative changes. This process, which must certainly be a slow one, may or may not be at the root of the "political revolution" whereby the constitutional rules are unconsciously changed, and it will probably not be greatly accelerated by such a revolution.

Mr Caws is, unhappily, not as lucid or persuasive in explaining why he supposes that the epochal revolution in the direction of increased democracy is progressing so steadily: "one has only to think of the status in 1954 of the universities, women, sexual mores, censorship, ecological awareness, political awareness on the part of the young, and so on . . . to perceive that a shift of very considerable magnitude is taking place". But it is not clear that these changes are all in the same direction nor that they are inconsistent with what other observers have claimed to see—the decline of democracy into a (domestically) benevolent system of totalitarian bureaucracy. All the same, the essay is full of useful insights, whether or not one finds its broad

historical perspective persuasive. Of the other writers on revolution, Kai Nielsen does a neat job of showing the implausibility of much of Karl Popper's defence of non-violent and piecemeal change. The essays on civil disobedience and similar forms of resistance to unjust authority are equally worth reading. Virginia Held looks at the idea of the political right, provoked by the rhetoric of student dissent with its appeal to the image of students as workers withdrawing their labour from the processing plant. It is a strained analogy in the sense that professors, deans and presidents are not literally the employers of the students. But Mrs Held pushes the analogy further, and sees more in it. For the forms of organization are strikingly similar, whether in politics, industry or education. If politics is increasingly an arena in which non-responsible officials can take decisions over which the electorate is powerless, it is as absurd to tell us to take our grievances to the ballot-box as it would be to tell workers to take their grievances over pay and conditions to the shareholders. "Striking" thus becomes not a matter of withdrawing our labour specifically, but a matter of refusing to do whatever it is that the organizational structure demands of persons in our position.

The issues which arouse greatest concern are, naturally, those where the most morally scrupulous and usually law-abiding citizens decide they cannot accept the decisions of the government or the courts. Hugo Bedau argues that there is no reason to think the legal obligation to join the United States armed forces imposes any moral obligation to do so. He holds this, not because no laws impose moral obligations, nor yet because the present regime has no constitutional right to impose draft laws, but rather because the sort of considerations which would make military service obligatory simply do not hold in the powerful, impersonal nation state which the United States

has become. He admits, of course, that the service is one which many men are obliged, in the sense of compulsion, to perform; but, as he rightly points out, impressment has never been regarded as other than a disagreeable necessity at the very best, and has never found anyone to defend it as the embodiment of a moral obligation.

Gordon Schochet goes on to defend the legitimacy of resisting not only the law but its penalties too. His case is simple enough: if the reason for objecting to the law is in part that its penalties are absurdly severe—as in the case of the marijuana laws in most states of the Union—it is hard to see what purpose is served by having oneself locked away for several years. To this, of course, the obvious answer is that it depends rather heavily on the circumstances; the Gandhian approach is presumably designed to make those in authority think about the legitimacy of the laws they make by compelling them to inflict punishment on people they admire and have no wish to see suffer. If Mr Schochet's views on the American judiciary are well founded, this would be a far-fetched hope. From Judge Hoffman onwards, courts have taken whatever steps they

wanted to ensure that the defence motives in breaking the law could be discussed, and there is no reason to think that the judiciary feels anything but hostility to political dissent. More recent trials have suggested a less gloomy view of this, but, certainly in the short run, the sort of public opinion which supported Gandhi against the ruling power, the courts do not seem to have remained unperturbed. One of Mr Schochet's more touching cases where the laws that are to be broken are those which prohibit the use of force to which objection is taken, he takes Russell and his friends in the Committee of One Hundred and their case for breaking it was very visibly to draw attention to the symbolic nature of the act.

Of the essays neglected by Noam Chomsky's on "The Responsibilities of Philosophers" is a temperate case for the political usefulness of philosophers who turn their professional scrutiny on the assumptions of current politics, and Stuart Hampshire's essay on the implications of Russell's radicalism is well reprinted in a more permanent

form. The second half of the nineteenth century produced no English diarist of the calibre of Grevel or Greville. Diaries there are by the dozen, but none that can rank with the first class either in style or in substance. An exception might possibly be made of the Gladstone diaries, now in course of publication; but though these diaries are of the greatest importance to students of history they have little appeal to the general reader. The G.O.M. was no

diarist. The three diaries which come nearest to filling this gap have, for varying reasons, hitherto remained unpublished. Lady Gladstone Somerset, lady-in-waiting to the Duchess of Cambridge, kept a diary, accurate, but amusing and of Court and Society details. The great Lord Shaftesbury wrote a diary from 1825 to 1885; but though much concerned with politics, his diary is of interest chiefly as an illumination of a strange and almost psychotic personality.

Of the essays neglected by Noam Chomsky's on "The Responsibilities of Philosophers" is a temperate case for the political usefulness of philosophers who turn their professional scrutiny on the assumptions of current politics, and Stuart Hampshire's essay on the implications of Russell's radicalism is well reprinted in a more permanent

'A very irksome duty' in fifty-four volumes

The Diary of Sir Edward Walter Hamilton

Edited by Dudley W. R. Bahlman
Volume 1: 1880-1882 iii plus 381pp.
Volume 2: 1883-1885, pp.382-994.
Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press. £10 the set.

ANDREW JONES:
The Politics of Reform 1884
281pp. Cambridge University Press. £6.40.

and personalities are almost exclusively his theme, and the greatest of these personalities is, of course, Gladstone. Today it is fashionable to regard "those two great gladiators", Disraeli and Gladstone, as an evenly-matched pair. Their contemporaries judged them very differently. "The name of Gladstone is synonymous with Satan", said one Tory lady; the G.O.M. was no minor imp, but Lucifer himself. Hamilton expressed the opinion of friend and foe alike when he wrote: "The one prominent figure, standing head and shoulders and likewise body above everybody else will always be the Great Man."

Today part of our difficulty in appreciating Gladstone at his true worth lies in the fact that we cannot hear him speak. His printed speeches fail to grip, but those same words, delivered in that astonishing voice, which preserved for us on an early experimental gramophone record, could, and did, reduce strong men to tears. "I could have cried like a child", Hamilton wrote after hearing Gladstone's speech on the Irish Land Act, and he recorded that the peroration of another speech on the not very emotional subject of parliamentary obstruction "moved many an eye to tears".

The passage is a fair example of Hamilton's insight and sagacity; less happily, it is also a fair example of his prose style. In Gladstone's dealings with a woman of very different type Hamilton's sympathies were, of course, on the side of his chief. He saw, however, that the situation was almost as trying for Queen Victoria as for her Prime Minister: "Her Majesty never has been suited by him and never will be. He was forced on her by Lord Granville and Lord Hamilton, and being a good constitutional Queen, she accepted him." He could understand and sympathize with Queen Victoria's dilemma when asked to assent to an Eastern policy the exact opposite of the one to which she had previously given enthusiastic public approval. Apropos Eastern affairs, Hamilton has a delightful description of the arrival of the news that Turkey had unexpectedly and very conveniently agreed to a rectification of the Montenegrin frontier:

Lord Granville stole in to the room unobserved and proceeded to make Gladstone's hold on the masses of the people. It had, however, roused "his slaves" to an unparalleled outburst of rage and indignation. "London is not very pleasant just now," he wrote, with masterly understatement: "people do not behave themselves like ladies and gentlemen." When the outcry was at its loudest, that enigmatic young man, Lord Rosebery, whom Winston Churchill once described as "unduly attracted by the pleasure of making a fine gesture", offered his services to a government which he had refused to join in the days of its popularity. After Gladstone, Rosebery is the most prominent figure in these diaries. To Hamilton, who had been his contemporary at Eton and Oxford, Rosebery was more of a friend than a hero. He had fallen, of course, under Rosebery's spell—"he fascinates me greatly"—but he was none the less baffled and sometimes exasperated by him. Though admitting that he could never fully fathom Rosebery, Hamilton nevertheless understood him very much better than ever Gladstone did. Mrs Gladstone put the Gladstone-Rosebery situation in a nutshell when she wrote of her husband: "His character is so extraordinarily simple I

don't think he knows how to understand these ins and outs." Affection and admiration indeed there was between them—"he delights in Rosebery and Rosebery delights in him"—but never understanding. It was Hamilton's task to act as interpreter between his two friends: the one complex, introspective, super-sensitive, pessimistic, the other simple, curiously unperceptive, in Hamilton's words, "sanguine indeed to a fault, free from *arrière-pensée*, confident in his own judgment".

Where Rosebery was concerned Gladstone made every possible mistake. In this particular case he could safely have indulged in the pleasure of advancing a friend; instead, "evidently anxious", as Hamilton put it, "not to humour his own feelings for Rosebery", he persistently refused to give the younger man any office comparable to his abilities or even to recognize his worth by the grant of a suitable honour. Hamilton describes Rosebery as "callous of ribands". The phrase, though memorable, is not true. Certainly Rosebery refused the Thistle; Mr Rhodes James describes him politely declining it, "as he seemed to do everything on principle on the first offer". Gladstone should have had the sense to insist a second time. Rosebery would clearly have liked the Garter which, to Hamilton's regret, Gladstone failed to offer him in 1884. When, eight years later, Gladstone pressed it upon him, Rosebery had lost all interest since his wife was no longer alive to take pride in the honour.

A man untarnished by coronets

The person callous of ribands was not Rosebery but Gladstone. He consistently refused all offers of titles or decoration, an attitude highly approved by Hamilton. He countered Gladstone's tiresome reiterated wish to resign office with the argument that if the great man were to remain in politics after his resignation he must of necessity accept "promotion" to the House of Lords, a solution which Hamilton, like Gladstone himself, rejected out of hand: "He must go down to posterity, untarnished by coronets and undecorated by ribands, as plain William Ewart Gladstone."

The *Politics of Reform* covers almost the same period as the present volumes of Hamilton's diary, dealing with the Franchise and Redistribution Acts which were perhaps the most important legislative measures of Gladstone's second ministry. With disarming candour Andrew Jones quotes one critic of his manuscript who called for more explicit prose "and counselled a major revision". It is pity that this advice was not taken. Dr Jones quotes Canon MacColl as saying, "I have more than once heard Mr Gladstone lament his own defect in not being able always to say precisely what he meant." What does Dr Jones himself mean precisely by such a sentence as, "If, for instance, deference has a place, it is as an assumption, not for its proven or measurable existence"? When to this obscurity of phrase he adds vulgarisms—"Spencer latched on to the idea"—is a sample—the result does not make for easy or pleasant reading.

The *Politics of Reform* is a thesis which should have been re-written before appearing in book form. Because Dr Jones has produced a careful piece of research on an important and not over-worked subject his faults may be forgiven him; it is less easy to forgive some of his remarks about a fellow historian. In 1967 an article by Corinne Comstock Weston called "The Royal Intervention in 1884" appeared in *The English Historical Review*. Though Dr Weston's conclusions might be disputed, her article is clear and well-argued, and, incidentally, agrees very well with the evidence in Hamilton's diary. It is a pity that Dr Jones should use such expressions as "political hero" or "a flaccid genre of political enquiry" and that he should refer, even obliquely to Dr Weston as "an historian who does not know what political battles are about".

Classroom struggle

PAUL NIZAN:
The Watchdogs: Philosophers of the Established Order
Translated by Paul Fittinghoff.
185pp. Monthly Review Press. £3.60.

The *Watchdogs* is a translation of Paul Nizan's *Chiens de garde*, first published in 1932. Forty years on, has Nizan anything useful to say to us? At times, his book seems too much brewed for home consumption, a part of that unending interecine war between French intellectuals. His attack on teachers might surprise British readers, for it is doubtful whether many of them feel they were systematically brainwashed at school or university. Here we think of teachers more as the misanthropes than the misleaders of youth. No doubt the influential place which "philosophy" has traditionally occupied in French lycées explains the desire in some to strike back. No doubt, too, French intellectuals tend to mistake their lycée or the École Normale Supérieure for the whole of France, and sometimes the whole world.

Perhaps, then, to extract the maximum relevance for ourselves out of *The Watchdogs*, we need to transpose, replacing Nizan's "watchdogs" (university and lycée professors of philosophy, State inspectors of Academies, Ministers of Education, and those bourgeois who seek to justify their self-appointed mission to be bosses by reference to some intellectual hierarchy) with that amorphous term: the Establishment. At all events, the real combat in Nizan's essay is between those satisfied with the status quo and those with every reason to want it changed in the name of common sense. It is the intellectual delight that Nizan mainly writes about here, but only because at that stage it was the only arena about which he honestly felt competent to talk.

A long time before Sartre's *Les Mots*, Nizan was slaying the myth of the thinker-as-saviour. Since he sees orthodox abstract philosophy as "the ultimate form of equivocation" and intelligence as merely a tool available to all sides in any conflict, he can offer no guaranteed truth. All he can do is to pinpoint the social consequences of particular philosophical stances. He locates the twin mystiques of French bourgeois thinking as the cult of impersonal Reason and belief in the blameless "inner man" (two excuses for inaction). For him, philosophers talk shop, their ink emissions insulating them "like squid". It is into this vicious circle that Nizan intrudes,

deflating Descartes's boast of encapsulating in a bubble of doubt. Absentism is a choice; Nizan needs to be told that Brook's "Wiggish club" or that Marlborough House was the residence of a Prince of Wales. People of contemporary importance, but today forgotten, sometimes go unnamed, as for instance Jesse Collings, St James's Lacina, George Smith, Mrs Annie Besant. Apart from these criticisms, no fault can be found with an admirably piece of work, crowned by an exceptionally helpful index.

The most interesting all appointments

These two volumes—more, surely, to follow—cover the five years of Gladstone's second Ministry. Hamilton served first as second secretary and from 1882 as principal private secretary to the Prime Minister. "It is probably the most interesting of all appointments", Hamilton wrote of his own office. Finding himself behind the scenes at the very centre of decision-making, he fortunately discovered the writing of it: "I found the writing of it a duty which was a very irksome duty". Hamilton had no literary gifts. His only reason Dr Bahlman is surely mistaken in describing this as "a diary"; besides possessing literary merit, a great diary should have those personal touches which make it enjoyable not only to specialists but also to the general reader. Hamilton's references to his personal life are brief and on the whole uninteresting. He may describe a house-party or mention a walk with Venetia Cavendish-Bleack, with whom he was at that time very much in love. On occasion he slips in a remark giving an insight of illuminating slight on the great, as when on May 9, 1880, he wrote: "I have been offered the post of Mr. G. which I will secure something less than 'his cellars' (Gladstone) and which was apt to complain of the taste of the then unfashionable material. These lighter moments, however, few and far between, are a little more provocative than writing of music, his hobby. Like many of his contemporaries he was a Wagnerian and also greatly admired the music of Liszt. . . ."

Hamilton's diary is a very thorough and well-written work of a job and supplies in addition a glossary of names.

The *Watchdogs* suffers from references (in 1932) to the "new" of the Soviet experiment, rather prematurely. Nizan's death-warrant issued in 1968 by many inquisitorial and doubtful whether he would have survived. Sartre would have made a lot of terrible twins. Both were largely conscious that in France they tended to suffocate the young. The time, with its its phrases humbly, in French money "And they call the philosophy" is difficult to read. Paul Fittinghoff has done a very thorough and well-written work of a job and supplies in addition a glossary of names.

Rethinking Marxism

HERBERT MARCUSE:
Studies in Critical Philosophy
Translated by Joris de Beres.
227pp. New Left Books. £3.25.

These essays cover a period of thirty-seven years. The earliest of them is a review of Marx's *Economic-Philosophical Manuscripts* which was one of the first attempts to rethink the nature of historical materialism with the aid of Marx's early writings; the last is a lecture on "Freedom and the Historical Imperative" delivered in 1969 in the aftermath of the May events, campus revolts in the United States and the other manifestations of the "Great Refusal" of the youthful left. The most substantial part of the book is a series of essays on the bourgeois concept of authority, tackled by way of studies of various thinkers from Luther to Pareto. The other essays are a critique of Sartre's existentialism dating from 1949, and a defence of (one kind of) historicism against Karl Popper's assaults of a decade later.

These essays will hardly change anyone's mind about the value of Marcuse's work, for they are a familiar blend of the opaque and the perceptive, and opinion will legitimately be divided over the balance of their virtues and vices. The first essay, certainly, stands up to the scrutiny of time; indeed, it is from that Marcuse's claim that the publication of the early essays was "a critical event in the history of Marxist studies" has taken so long to come to pass. For, in his review, Marcuse touches on several themes which have only recently been more thoroughly explored. Thus, he gives an account of Marx's view of man's relationship with the natural world which brings out many of the senses in which this is an "internal relation" of the kind

which Bertell Ollman's recent book on *Alienation* explores. And he has a lot to say about the contrast between "reification" and "objectification" which preoccupies István Mészáros's *Marx's Theory of Alienation*.

Among the illuminations of Marcuse's analysis of Marx's view of private property stands out both for its own intrinsic interest and for its illumination of Marx's account of "raw communism". Just as Marx distinguishes between the free activity of self-realization and alienated labour, so he distinguishes between a truly human form of property and alienated private property. Merely to take over the things which are possessed by those with (private) property, which is what "crude and thoughtless communism" proposes, properly. The positive abolition of private property demands an insight into the relationship between the individual, his own activity and the world in which that activity takes place, which is not supplied either by classical political economy or by classical German philosophy. Both think of property relations in terms of physical appropriation; and use, and it is just this conception which Marx rejects. That this puts Marx in an interesting and ambiguous relationship to Hegel is clear enough, and it then raises the intriguing question of how Marx avoids the obvious temptations of idealism.

The essays on authority are rather variable. The topic will see them all infected with the typical Marxist shiftness about causation and truth. For, in his review, Marcuse touches on several themes which have only recently been more thoroughly explored. Thus, he gives an account of Marx's view of man's relationship with the natural world which brings out many of the senses in which this is an "internal relation" of the kind

much weaker claim that we might, if we went into enough detail, show how some of his views came more easily to him because of the economic organization of the society in which he lived. The ghost of a very dubious teleology seems to haunt the account. This is not to deny the interest of this essay, only to suggest that the interest lies in hints and suggestions rather than in the overall framework. In particular, there is very sensible comment on the process by which the anti-bourgeois elitists on hierarchy which was a commonplace of opposition to the French Revolution turns into an ambivalent defence of the bourgeois order by the time of Pareto.

Marcuse's problems in the past few years are familiar ones. His politics demand that the masses should take up and fulfil a mission in which they seem utterly uninterested; the only appearance which seems to appreciate any of Marcuse's message is a small and unrepresentative section of the intelligentsia. But they are allies towards whom his feelings are decidedly ambivalent—at least on the evidence of this last lecture. They are a sign of life in a society which has too few they utterly repudiate. Marcuse himself wants to see a revolution. But if they content themselves with a "Great Refusal", their revolutionary potential is dubious. For this repudiation must include the intellectual weapons which are indispensable to any revolution. The long tradition of German social critique has very self-consciously placed achievement of bourgeois intellectual life. It is hard to believe that he takes much pleasure in a revolution which has so few intellectual problems; or, indeed, that he can entertain any real hopes for its success.

Peasant remedies

MAURICE MESSÉGUÉ:

Of Men and Plants

Translated by Pamela Swinglehurst
207pp. Weidenfeld and Nicolson.
£1.25.

Since the scientific naming of the old wives' mould as penicillin, patients have been even more ready to accept the possibilities of old remedies, the ancient therapy of simples. But of course this is very unpopular with doctors who have neither the knowledge nor the opportunity for the gathering and treatment of herbs, nor with the large drug-houses whose profits stem from re-couping vast sums spent in research from branded goods, synthesized stably, at a very high cost.

Medicine is an art, and the more doctors there are who pretend to practice it as a pure science, the more disappointed patients turn to other forms of therapy. Vast numbers of these unqualified therapists are quacks, imposing even more shamefully than the doctors and surgeons who have passed through the medical schools.

And so between these two groups an old-fashioned herbalist like Maurice Mességué, the Gascon peasant from Gers whose family had been handing down the wisdom of simples from generation to generation for the last four and a half centuries, has had a controversial career which has exceeded that of his ancestors both in the frequency of his prosecutions and in the extent of his clientele, famous and humble.

If he had had the money to study medicine and take a degree, he could have pursued his simple way without interruption. But he was, and still proudly is, a peasant. Born in 1921, he grew up into the defeat of France. When France fell, he took a job as a postal censor in Montauban: a dreary task he enlivened by collecting plants, drying them and preparing macerations for treating biliousness, rheumatism and kidney disorders among his acquaintance. On recommendation, he was called to treat Admiral Darlan's rheumatism:

I chopped the best leaves of my cabbage fairly fine (discarding the thick ribs), along with water-cress and some stinging nettle, and bound it all together with the stiffly-beaten egg white. Then I spread the preparation on to some muslin, forming a kind of poultice, folding it and pouring over it about a teaspoonful of my maceration, which was based on meadow-sweet, common broom, wild camomile, clary, great burdock, hawthorn, creeping couch-grass.

Darlan had been despaired of by doctors. But his condition improved under M. Mességué's treatment. So did M. Mességué's. He was paid 10,000 francs, and given special privileges.

None of his ancestors accepted money for healing, but when he became a schoolteacher after the war, he was asked for continuing his unaided ministry of healing. He went to Nice and tried to break into medical circles. The only patient he could find was an extremely successful beggar who consented to have his

incurable eczema treated if M. Mességué gave him a litre of wine a day. The eczema was cured and on the beggar's recommendation he took on the Mother Superior of the poorhouse, who was suffering from sciatica and overweight. She lost a stone and a half in a fortnight and her pains disappeared. From then on he was made.

Not that things were easy. His rule was not to treat anyone except those who had been despaired of by doctors. He could charge no fee. He had to rely on what his patient thought fit to pay, which in the case of the poor he made nothing and which the rich sometimes made the same. Avingtneuf was his first distinguished patient and the old man paid him with publicity and advice; also the licence to adore her.

The copyright of *Of Men and Plants* is registered not as M. Mességué's but as belonging to *Opera Mundi*, Paris. One suspects that the supposed author talked his story to a tape-recorder from which a good journalist made first a series of newspaper articles and then a book. This is not to say that the "author" does not come across as a very genuine, delightful and sincere person (driven to describe himself as a "phytotherapist", because he found himself, after twenty prosecutions for illicit practice, even more in opposition to his fellow quacks than he was to doctors who refused to pass patients on to him when they had despaired of curing them themselves). But it is to say that the concentration on his famous patients—Edouard Herriot, Churchill, Robert Schumann, Konrad Adenauer, Farouk, Utrillo and Cocteau—does not seem quite in character with his devoted phytotherapy.

Of course as a *paysan du monde*, he could sympathize with Herriot's inability to conform to any phytotherapeutic discipline with regard to food, drink or women. And he was entranced by his consultation with Prince Ali Khan:

In simple and quite uninhibited terms, the prince told me that while his actual performance was unaffected... yet he found he was doing it more for the sake of his health than from any real desire.

"It's getting me down, you understand. Does this lack of interest in the women around me mean that I'm growing old before my time? Can you do anything for me?"

"Let me first ask you something: How many times a week?"

"Three times a day regularly."

"And always successfully? Never any trouble?"

"Then, Prince, I think I ought to be consulting you!"

He laughed heartily, and I didn't see him again. On my way home I reflected that it was certainly the first time I'd ever been able to laugh at a sexual problem.

Of Men and Plants is, in spite of the appendixes on herbal treatments which are hazardedly vague, a wise, witty and life-loving book. But the anecdote of Prince Ali Khan shows its limitation. His sickness was that he could not love, even once a day.

Patience

R. W. REVANS (Edinburgh)

Hospitals: Communication, Choice, and Change

172pp. Tavistock. £1.80.

In an attempt to improve the running of hospitals R. W. Revans drew up a Hospital Internal Communications Project. Ten London hospitals took part. Over a period of four years various problems were investigated by chosen members of the staff, medical, nursing and administrative. This book is the result. It is not clear whether this complicated and lengthy experiment has been justified.

Several of the conclusions are uncontroversial enough. For example, one hospital judiciously agreed that the number of patients called for admission should not exceed the number of patients who would be discharged on any given day. And did it really require the

preparation of two diagrams to show conclusively that all those employed in the hospital, the ward sisters, have both the numerous contacts and the widest range. This is not a new finding, but it served to recall to us the vitally important position occupied by these women.

It could be unkind to say that the project has not been worthwhile. However, the same result could perhaps have been achieved by means of friendly discussions between the various departments of the hospital, and by the exercise of good manners in communicating ideas and new proposals.

At the end of the book a sensible suggestion is made: "A central bureau for dissemination of advice will be set up, possibly by the Department of Health or the King's Fund or the Nuffield Trust," and "local links will be established between hospital groups, universities and technical colleges."

Awareness and identity

ADAM CURLE:

Mystics and Militants

121pp. Tavistock. £2.

Adam Curle is a social psychologist of the less mechanistic sort and *Mystics and Militants* is a book which he wrote as a supplement to *Making Peace* while spending sabbatical study leave from Harvard at the Richardson Institute for Conflict Research in London. It is a simple, profound and compassionate book which could well be issued in paperback and sold cheaply to the people who are its main heroes—the young who have become increasingly aware of their cruelly exploitative world and its competitive materialism, and who desperately want to do something about it or themselves. Not every academic would wish to be congratulated on writing a religious book, but this is what Professor Curle has done. If it is accused of lacking complexity, subtlety or substance, the defence must be that it starts exactly at the point at which the sincere generation to whom it is addressed begin to discuss their problems.

In his earlier book Professor Curle had already addressed himself to the techniques necessary for resolving conflicts, techniques of negotiation and conciliation through impartial mediation. But his new book starts with the assumption that a situation where an exploited or oppressed party to a social relation rests content with things as they are is not therefore a situation free of conflict. The conflict lies latent in the lack of awareness of the oppressed. True and serious conflict resolution therefore must deal with the problem of awareness and non-awareness.

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TO REVIEW THESE three books together may seem incongruous since Geoffrey Parrinder's "Encyclopedia of the World's Religions" is not primarily concerned with the religious problems of modern youth, as are the other two in their very different ways. Far and away the best book of the three, it yet invites comparison with John Hinnells and Eric Sharpe's misleadingly entitled *Hinduism* since there is not only a highly competent article on Hinduism in Professor Parrinder's book but *Hinduism* also contains a second half which deals with the teaching of religion in schools.

There are plenty of books which are designed to fulfil this need. They are written largely by amateurs turned professional in its impossible, by definition, in its subject, to specialize in religious studies, in its broadest conception, includes the religious thought, practice, emotions, organization, etc. of the whole human race. Of these Professor Parrinder's new "Encyclopedia" is by far the best. For he has not repeated the mistake he made in his recent *A Dictionary of Non-Christian Religions* where he attempted to cover the whole of mankind's religious experience entirely on his own. In the present work he has called in a panel of specialists to cover a very large proportion of man's experience of the "divine". He has eschewed the intellectual arrogance, "existential" daring, or sheer cheek (call it what you will) of attempting to set himself up as an authority on all the religions of the world as not a few engaged in the religious education industry have done before him. Rather he has confined himself to "presenting the facts" as discerned by his collaborators. To quote the last paragraph of his conclusion:

This encyclopedia has tried to present the facts. It does not seek to judge or set up any standard but the truth (in capital T here). It reveals something of the wealth and variety of man's age-long quest.

In other words it is a take-it-or-leave-it book with little or no attempt made to correlate the diversity of its content. The reader will find no patterns here, no mosaic of meaning or the lack of it, since he is honestly told not to expect or look for such improbabilities.

Among the writers on religious Professor Parrinder aligns himself with Herodotus, not with Thucydides. He is, however, a Christian and, unlike the late S. G. F. Brandon and some present operators, he does not go out of his way to conceal it. He most emphatically protests against the syncretist dogma that "all religions are equal ways to the truth", and even goes so far as to suggest that "the ancient Aztecs who held up the beating hearts of their victims to the sun, surely did not have as 'good' a religion as the peaceful word of the Buddha". Even so, he thinks it necessary to put the word "good" into apologetic quotation marks, so bedevilled is the modern mind by relativism, syncretism, behaviourism—and on a more universal scale by the religious affirmation of a "Good" that is beyond good and evil endemic in the East and injected into the West by Heraclitus, whose ghost continues to bedevil our Western minds.

One suspects that it is Professor Parrinder's Christian cate that impelled him not to exclude the Aztecs from his panorama of the religions of the world; as well as his desire, both scholarly and Christian, to expose the gigantic fallacy that "all religions are one". Hence for his inclusion of "Christianity von Fritzer-Haimendorf's clinically neat analysis of the 'Tribal Religions in Asia' which adds a far more trenchant QED to Professor Parrinder's refreshingly unmodern conviction than does his own rather disappointing piece on 'Traditional Africa'.

Disappointing too is his "Conclusion" which is a conclusion only in the sense that it gathers in those "modern" topics not included in the encyclopedia, such as Jung, Bertrand Russell, and John Robinson's unremarkable but notorious booklet *Honest to God*, which owed its success solely to the fact that a bishop of the Church of England should appear to deny everything hitherto associa-

Self-taught teachers of the unteachable

GEOFFREY PARRINDER (Editor): *Man and his Gods*. Encyclopedia of the World's Religions. 440pp. Paul Hamlyn, £5.95.

JOHN R. HINNELLIS and ERIC J. SHARPE (Editors): *Hinduism*. 224pp. Newcastle upon Tyne: Oriel Press. Paperback, £2.

JACOB NEEDLEMAN: *The New Religions*. 242pp. Allen Lane/The Penguin Press, £2.75.

ted with Christianity. The "daring" picaresques of Anglican divines never fail to overawe the unthinkingly agnostic British public so ready, as always, to see confirmation for the prejudices they derive from what they take to be science in the utterances of bishops simply because they are bishops and therefore supposed to be trustworthy exponents of the ecclesiastical establishment. Professor Parrinder's inclusion of *Honest to God* is, therefore, justified not because of any intrinsic importance it may possess but because it is the symptom of the "belief-unbelief" syndrome through which this country is passing.

So much for Professor Parrinder's own contributions to this generally impressive book. Passing to the book itself, the first comment must be that it is magnificently illustrated and the illustrations really illustrate, that is, illumine, and bring out the meaning of the text. The second must be that a book produced on so sumptuous a scale is so reasonably priced. Thirdly, the articles generally show a high degree of competence.

History and cultus

By and large the editor has left his contributors a good deal of initiative in dealing with their subjects and how they think best, but it is clear that most of them think in terms rather of history and cultus than in those of theology or ideology. Is this because the international association dealing with religion happens to call itself the International Association for the History of Religions, or simply that Christian theology has now become so arid and scholastic in the worst sense of that word that the avoidance of the very word has seemed a *sine qua non* to those who see themselves as the founders of a new (indiscipline)?

Of the major individual contributions that of W. A. C. H. Dobson is outstanding, as might be expected from so distinguished a sinologist with his keen and sympathetic understanding of the Chinese mind. Of the minor ones W. H. McLeod distinguishes himself with effortless superiority since not only has he studied the Sikhs in depth, lived among them and conversed with them in their own language, but is thoroughly at home in Moghul India, both Muslim and Hindu: he is a scholar, a linguist, an historian; and something of a dervish in his own right.

Trevor Ling contributes an excellent article on Buddhism, particularly on the Theravada School with which he is most familiar, though he is weak on the Mahayana and weaker still on Tantrism. But he makes elementary philological mistakes supposedly in support of his own interpretations of Buddhist terms when these interpretations can find valid and undeniable support elsewhere. Two examples must suffice. It is not true that "in India in the Buddha's day *nibbana* meant 'cool'". What Professor Ling means, one supposes, is that the word *nibbana* which can legitimately be translated as "extinguished" does not mean "annihilated" as its frequent juxtaposition with the word *sambhava*, "cooled", makes clear. Why not say so? Similarly his remarks about the literal meaning of *Bhikkhu* (on page 234) may be etymologically half-right, but are unsupported by usage in either Vedic, Sanskrit, or Pali. Again the doctrine of "capital importance" to the Upanishads listed by Thomas R. Trautman (*samsara, karma, moksha, nirvana*) are in fact of capital importance to Buddhism in all its stages and only vaguely adumbrated in the Upanishads. They might have had more attention in Professor Ling's article where they properly belong.

One misses too any mention of the Mahayana identification of *samsara* with *Nirvana* (Nagajuna, etc.) which effectively transformed Buddhism from a Platonic dualism into an Aristotelian holism.

On Hinduism Professor Trautman adopts an original approach, rich in accidents, but showing little understanding of the pantheistic substance. On Islam Charles J. Adams is adequate, though obviously not at home among the Sufis, and where does he get the idea that "the Shi'ah believe that all the imams suffered martyrdom at the hands of their enemies"?

David Goldstein on Judaism is frankly dull and vastly inferior to the brilliant performance of R. J. Zvi Werblowsky in the earlier *Encyclopedia of Living Faiths* edited by R. C. Zaehner. The article on Christianity does well to avoid all theological jargon, but does nothing to reinterpret this most extraordinary of all the religions, the centre of which is what has always been understood as a human sacrifice. The long catalogue of missionary activities towards the end is simply dull, as is the similar catalogue of the Muslim.

conquests at the beginning of the article on Islam. On Zoroastrianism Mr Hinnells fails sufficiently to stress the essential preoccupation of that religion, which is the problem of evil.

The other two books have little in common except that both are about religion and both are directed at the young. Together they represent divergent attitudes towards the dechristianized youth of today. Jacob Needleman is painfully aware of what he calls the "spiritual explosion" in America, while Mr Hinnells and Dr Sharpe offer predigested spiritual fare to supplant or rather supplement that arid, vacuous, and ununderstanding teaching of Christianity formerly glorified under the name of "divinity" which has done so much to turn generations of schoolboys away from Christianity. Aldous Huxley and Jung are typical examples of what divinity can do to alert young minds, and even the Jesuits with their vastly superior techniques gave birth to the phenomenon of Voltaire. Now, in place of the old divinity we are to have RE, which might be called "the teaching of the unteachable to the unteachable by the self-taught". This is not unfair since most teachers of the non-Christian religions have reached their present eminence through having distinguished themselves in some other field first. The only thing that most of them have in common is that, being academics, they must not obtrude any views they have on the beliefs of other men which they try to understand but rarely do.

Quantification

Thomas Merton wrote that "there is an implicit contrast between the dry, academic, and official learning about religion and the living power of the word". *Hinduism* fits with uncommon ease into the first pigeon-hole. *The New Religions* investigates what the word preached by a galaxy of modern prophets is and how it seems to get through to the young and give meaning to their life. The blurb claims that *Hinduism* is

written by a team of specialists... It will be especially valuable to the Religious Education teacher, students in colleges of education, the university student of comparative religion; indeed anyone with an interest in either comparative religion, India or education. It is indispensable to those who work in community relations.

To describe any of the contributors

to this book as "specialist" leading. Until he was asked to write the RE industry Mr Hinnells indeed a specialist in religion, key in Zoroastrianism, and one of the few in the RE industry who is not a "specialist" in a sense. But why call this new discipline "an industry"? (a) its approach to religion is unteachable subject of religion to be wholly quantitative, and (b) its heart of any of the religious to teach, and (c) its aim seems to be expansion, involves the recruitment of teachers who would probably be accepted in any other discipline (c) because it seeks to impose a dull, and often inaccurate, through the medium of a dull, and often inaccurate, issued by the industry itself.

Hinduism falls well within the category. Its methodology is wrong quantification with a vengeance. The juxtaposition of one snippet of about 1,000 words, aspects of the most esoteric and best way to prepare one for teaching a religion, which it can be assumed knows nothing. The essentialism is pantheism, that is, omnipresence of the divine, nowhere clearly brought out in Upanishads which constitute the book's chief attraction. Many of the observations are original—on the association of keys, technique seems to be to use many names and facts (which are often non-facts) to the point where the reader is made some sense of it all by. If this is the way the non-religious are to be taught, then it is a waste of everyone's and someone's money. The easy and humility required of student not to pretend to know one does not know—no preparation for the honesty and of the scholar. It is a pity that the RE industry should have to heart it wishes to be taught. The alienated young are looking for predigested spiritual fare to supplant or rather supplement that arid, vacuous, and ununderstanding teaching of Christianity formerly glorified under the name of "divinity" which has done so much to turn generations of schoolboys away from Christianity. Aldous Huxley and Jung are typical examples of what divinity can do to alert young minds, and even the Jesuits with their vastly superior techniques gave birth to the phenomenon of Voltaire. Now, in place of the old divinity we are to have RE, which might be called "the teaching of the unteachable to the unteachable by the self-taught". This is not unfair since most teachers of the non-Christian religions have reached their present eminence through having distinguished themselves in some other field first. The only thing that most of them have in common is that, being academics, they must not obtrude any views they have on the beliefs of other men which they try to understand but rarely do.

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From the foundries of Plantin and Le Bé

JOHN DREYFUS (General Editor):
Type Specimen Facsimiles II
Unnumbered pages Bodley Head
£15.

In his lengthy historical introduction to the first volume of *Type Specimen Facsimiles*, comprising numbers 1-15, published in 1963, Stanley Morison stressed the great need for a series of accurate, easily available reproductions of historically important type specimens to serve the needs of bibliographers, historians, typographers, and collectors. Despite the respectable age of bibliography and printing history, and the vast amount published on the subject, there remains much detail to be filled in and much yet to be discovered in archives, museums, and libraries. This is especially true for the post-incunabular period, since the early historians of printing devoted most of their attention to the invention and spread of type. Type specimens were issued in small editions, for a small audience, mainly printers and publishers (and on occasion, patrons) in the market for new material. They were utilitarian works, often destroyed in the course of their use, for the vandal-designer, who saves time by cutting and pasting, is no Johnny-come-lately. The first specimens were broadsheets, especially vulnerable to damage.

The second volume, adding numbers 16-18 to the series, is especially welcome not only as an indication

that the venture has not been abandoned but also because it makes available these three specimens to those not fortunate enough to have ready access to the Plantin-Moretus Museum in Antwerp, whose rich resources include the originals from which these excellent colotype facsimiles have been made, none being known in any other collection. The highly informative introduction and notes are the work of Hendrik D. L. Vervliet, of the Museum, and Harry Carter, of the Oxford University Press; the brief preface, recapitulating the aim of the series and describing the methodology, is by the general editor, John Dreyfus.

Christophe Plantin, whose printing establishment was founded in 1555 and continued in business for some three centuries, was among the most successful and enterprising printers and publishers of his day. He carried on an integrated business, including printing, publishing, and bookselling; and he commissioned and bought types, mainly in the form of matrices which were cast for him by a local founder, from the best punch-cutters of France and the Low Countries. His voluminous correspondence and business records, in the archives of the Museum, enable the historian to attribute many types to their designers, as well as to document the emergence of type-founding as an independent business.

The first of the facsimiles is of Plantin's specimen of 1567, made

from two of the three copies at Antwerp. A quarto of sixteen leaves, it was the first to use the term "specimen" in its title—*Index sive specimen characterum Christiani Plantini*—as well as the first to be issued as a book rather than a broadsheet. Like most type specimens, it was intended as a sales tool, in this case to secure a single order, the printing of his Polyglot Bible, of 1568-72, a monumental work requiring heavy subsidy. For this reason it stressed exotic faces: Hebrew, first; Greek; then roman and italic; civilised and black-letter, all in a considerable range of sizes, as well as some very handsome combinations of flourishes. The concise but full notes, after placing the book in its context of the negotiations with Gabriel de Cuyas, secretary to King Philip II of Spain, identify each type, identify its cutter when known, and usually the exact give the size in the nomenclature of the period, information on other known uses, and repositories of sets of matrices, generally Antwerp, Oxford, and Haarlem.

The second facsimile, Plantin's folio specimen of c. 1585, contains ten leaves, without title-page or colophon; it is reproduced from one of the two copies at the Museum, which also owns some fragments. There were apparently two motives for its issuance: an unsuccessful attempt to secure reimbursement for the huge and pressing debts Plantin

had incurred while printing for Philip; and the production of a document which would be useful in selling the business, if he should have to. It shows a considerable growth in type repertoire during the twenty years since the earlier book, from forty-five to sixty-seven type-faces, many in variant sizes cast on larger or smaller bodies. Of these, seventeen are roman; one, italic; three, black letter; two, fraktur; one, rotunda; four, civilité; three, Greek; ten, Hebrew; two, Syriac; and three, music. The largest number are attributed to Granjon (twenty-five) and the Flemish punchcutter, Van den Keere (twenty-five); fifteen to Garamont; one, Andrea; one, Danrice; and a dozen unidentified or mixed. Van den Keere is particularly important, although little known hitherto, since his typesets, taken to Leyden by his foreman, Thomas de Veecher, in 1584, played an important role in the development of Dutch faces in the next century.

The final facsimile, again from unique copies in Antwerp, is the least known and perhaps most interesting of the three. It is made up of fragments displaying types from the foundry of Guillaume Le Bé in Paris, sent to Jean Moretus, Plantin's son-in-law and successor, by Guillaume Le Bé II, who annotated many of them. Many of the types are included in an inventory of the foundry made some time after 1617, which was edited by

Stanley Morison from a century-century transcript of a French National Archive. It was made by J. P. Fournier, attached to his purchase of the elder Le Bé's workshop in 1598, had been apprenticed to him, and ended up writing well-punch-cutting. After a period in Venice, where he cut Roman type for Claude Garamont, he returned to Paris, where his commission was cutting a face for Claude Garamont, also carried on a business as a seller and paper merchant. Family had been active in the trade at Troyes, but the business activity was centred on Paris, and eventually the business ended a large type-foundry, the Le Bé in Paris, to carry a large range of matrices. After the death of his grandson, Guillaume II, had allowed it to run down, the business was sold to Fournier, and Jean-Claude Fournier, who was employed by the value daughters as manager.

The fragments show some civilité, Hebrew, and Arabic, together with fleurons. The Le Bé's hand give size and design, mainly for the typesetters and Garamont; these well-known designs, such as the frie and Sanleque, are noted. Many of the fragments are small clippings from books in the types shown, but no actual specimens showing the type. According to Italo Grignon's *Petit Canon Roman*, the elder Le Bé, shown in the specimen of the Imprimeur, which used the types, and a type of the Petit Canon Roman.

One of the most useful features of the book is a synoptical list of all the types shown, although the designers when known (being qualified), and other type specimens which have been reproduced.

Type Specimen Facsimiles is a handsome and useful work, produced and bound, although the publication of the second volume will for the appearance of specimens in the near future.

Literature and Criticism
Thomas Browne: *Religio Medici* (Hodgkinton and The Gaskell Edition) by R. H. A. Robinson (University Press, £1.25) Corgi Books: *Poems and Criticism* (50p).

Musik
Hans Theodor David: *150 Years of Musical Offerings* (Dover, £1.25) Gustav Gossens: *Music in the 19th Century* (Dover, £1.25) Josef Lohr: *Principles in Popular Music* (Dover, £1.25) Oscar Sonneck: *Requiem for a Republic* (Dover, £1.25) "America" (Dover, £1.25) "Doodle" (Dover, £1.25).

Philosophy
Arthur Koestler and J. R. H. (Editors): *Beyond Reason* (Hutchinson, £2.25) Richard D. Wood: *Donato* (Hutchinson, £1.35) Klaus Fuchs: *Politics* (Dover, £1.35).

Politics
Adolf Hitler: *Mein Kampf* (Dover, £1.25) Ralph Manheim: *Hitler's Germany* (Dover, £1.25) D. C. Watt: *Hitler's Germany* (Dover, £1.25) Edmund Meinhart: *Hitler's Germany* (Dover, £1.25) Philip Noel-Baker: *The Manufacture of Atoms* (Dover, £1.25).

Science
Wesley Roswell Coe: *Science and the Sea* (Dover, £1.25) James G. Cruikshank: *Science and the Sea* (Dover, £1.25).

Social Studies
Mary Douglas: *Power and the Sacred* (Dover, £1.25) Mary Douglas: *Power and the Sacred* (Dover, £1.25).

Publishers and Distributors
Arrow (Hutchinson) (Dover, £1.25) Fontana (Collins) (Dover, £1.25) Hopkins Press (IBEG) (Dover, £1.25) Tavistock (Dover, £1.25).

FICTION

Howlers

GIANNI CELATI:
Comiche
(Mtp. Turin: Einaudi. 1, 1,000.

A constant danger with the Italian language is that at a moment's loss of which Signor Celati achieves his most interesting effects. The war he wages is total, nothing is sacred: syntax, morphology and lexicon are sent up in flames. "Non schioppa il professore" (from a non-existent denotational verb: *schioppa*), one of the first sentences in *Comiche*, is a striking conjunction of the Italian macaronic tradition, which at times neologizes on the "Jahberwocky" principle, and the author's personal technique of imitating adolescent ignorance. The whole novel thus offers a valuable, cunningly exploited anthology of linguistic imbecilities and intolerable anacolutha.

However, *Comiche* does more than just produce these brilliant effects, for Signor Celati offers us a linguistic medium made to measure for his protagonist, a very Mediterranean Herr Professor seemingly cursed by a fluctuating identity, uncertain topographical location and an ill-defined persecution mania. The venue of his schizo-linguistic difficulties is partly hospital, partly seaside boarding-house, partly school. The characters who surround him, whether ghosts or tangible bodies, are all equally sadistic and aggressive, and oppress him with a barrage of words on the point of losing their meaning. None the less, they still carry enough semantic charge to create a delirious case for the prosecution made by the mundane or ultramundane tribunal there to accuse the professor of all conceivable felonies. These ultimately can be reduced to a single crime: that of being alive.

This is the stage where *Comiche* reveals its defect. The author has provided us with a sort of handbook on how to read the text, incorporated in the novel itself, but the information it conveys is contradictory. We are invited to enjoy the novel's de-structured language by attempting an analysis of it, but this takes away from the novel as a sequence of limatic incidents. To read *Comiche* in this formalist way would be like reading Kafka with a dictionary of symbology to hand.

Crime in short

JERRY CALVIN:
The Two Popes
Mtp. Hutchinson, £1.75.

Jerry Calvin is reliably good, immensely enjoyable, and his story of two Popes, one in a corrupt American republic is original and exciting and, often enough, funny. There are, as the title implies, two Popes, one of them propped up by corrupt-hero-police chief, and which is which is as hard for reader as kidnapper to know; this reader, at least, guessed when when shall we have a story about an uncorrupt South American Pope?

JESSICA MANN:
Mrs Knox's Profession
156pp. Macmillan, £1.60.

Well, what was Mrs Knox's profession? The author doesn't want us to take too long to find out in a gruesome story of nasty suburban horrors, where no one is nice enough to have any good deers. A clever second book, that difficult hurdle triumphantly cleared.

GIL NORTH:
Sergeant Cluff Rings True
176pp. Eyre Methuen, £1.75.

Granted, that the Sergeant Cluff books whiff of Cold Comfort Farm: are so elliptical one could slip a couple more stories into the interstices; and that you've got to endure (or enjoy) the reactionary contempt of an author who would see all of us not from his native moors as "off-comed-uns"—grinned all that, and still the stories grip, and this no less than the others.

CRAFTS

Time machines

J. H. LEOPOLD:
The Almanac Manuscript
306pp. Hutchinson, £15.
VAUDREY MERCER:
John Arnold & Son, Chronometer Makers, 1762-1843
302pp including 212 illustrations. The Antiquarian Horological Society, £4.50.

These two books, both of first-class quality, form a pleasing contrast—*The Almanac Manuscript* giving a wide survey of the types of domestic clock in use in fine houses and palaces during the pioneer years of clockmaking, while *John Arnold & Son* concentrates on a particular, but vital, field of mechanical timekeeping: the portable timekeeper as a precision instrument for finding a ship's longitude at sea.

The Almanac manuscript is a paper manuscript of 48 leaves (2 Cod. 209) in the Staats und Stadtbibliothek of Augsburg, a library founded in 1537 as the collected libraries of a number of monasteries in the city. It was written in Rome between 1475 and 1480 by Brother Pautus Almanus ("Paul the German"), and it describes and illustrates in considerable detail the mechanism of thirty mechanical domestic clocks, twenty-two weight-driven and eight spring-driven, which he had been able to handle and examine during his stay in Rome. It is important because very few specimens of actual clocks survive from a period which is of great interest as lying within the first century of domestic clocks.

Though probably not a trained clockmaker himself, Paul was a keen observer, well able to transfer his observations to paper in Latin text and in drawings. By no means all the clocks which he describes

were made in Italy; some were from Flanders, Germany, and probably France, so it is with European rather than purely Italian clockmaking that we are concerned.

John Leopold has done a great service in making this manuscript and its contents available to a wide circle of readers. He gives an introductory description of each clock in his own words illustrated by a very carefully executed drawing of his conception of the three-dimensional layout of the clock mechanism, together with simple tables of the technical details of the clock derived from the manuscript. Then follows a reproduction of Paul's own drawing of the wheelwork facing a transcription of his Latin text, below which is Mr Leopold's translation into modern English, with great care to give correct renderings of the technical terms.

This information from the manuscript is prefaced by a valuable survey of the manuscript, its origin, history and dating, followed by Mr Leopold's assessment of the layout and details of clocks of the period in general derived from Paul's descriptions. Mr Leopold's account of the varied and most ingenious mechanisms for 12-hour and 24-hour striking is particularly welcome, and includes much detail not previously available in books on clockwork.

The book will be of great interest to the large and growing number of collectors and others concerned with the early history of machines and practical devices of all kinds. Specialists in antiquarian horology will find much fascinating detail which is new to them, combined with an exceptionally clear exposition of matters with which they are generally familiar.

John Harrison was the first to make a clock, in the form of a large watch, which would keep time suffi-

ciently accurately at sea to be of use in finding a ship's longitude, but his clock, which made highly successful voyages to the West Indies in 1761 and 1764, was too complicated to become a prototype for general manufacture, and it was the Arnolds, father and son, and also Earnshaw, who modified and simplified Harrison's design and supplied marine chronometers for the general use of seafarers.

John Arnold was born in Cornwall in 1735 or 1736, but carried out most of his work in London between 1762 and his death in 1799. John Roger, born in 1769, worked in Paris with the great A. L. Breguet in 1792 and 1793; he set up a workshop in Dorsington after his father's death and later moved his work to Chigwell, Essex; he died in 1843.

Vaudrey Mercer's thorough and capable survey of the lives and work of these two great horologists includes a great deal of biographical information, but its chief importance is the detailed account of the history and development of the technical features which led to the success of Arnold's chronometers, and in particular of the three vital components—the detached escapement, the balance-spring, and the temperature compensation balance—to which the Arnolds devoted such ingenuity and skill. There is also a chapter on Arnold's rival, Thomas Earnshaw, and a dispassionate survey of the many quarrels and differences which marred the relationship of these pioneers.

Among the appendices are check-lists of Arnold pocket and marine chronometers and a most comprehensive list, taken from the chronometer ledgers of the Royal Greenwich Observatory, recording the use of Arnold chronometers in ships of the Royal Navy from the 1820s to the 1930s.

Tools of death

HOWARD I. BLACKMORE:
Hunting Weapons
404pp. Barrie and Jenkins, £5.50.

ARTHUR WISE:
The History and Art of Personal Combat
256pp. Hugh Evelyn, £5.50.

NORMAN DIXON:
Georgian Pistols
184pp. Arms and Armour Press, £5.

D. W. BAILEY:
British Military Longarms, 1715-1815
80pp. Arms and Armour Press, £1.70.

G. A. SHEPHERD:
Arms and Armour 1660-1918
224pp. Hart-Davis, £1.75.

In this latest batch of books dealing with the history of arms and armour and their use, the outstanding one is *Hunting Weapons*. Surprisingly, it is the first serious study of the arms used in hunting ever to have been published in English. In the event, this has perhaps been fortunate for it is unlikely that any past writer on either arms or hunting could have produced a work of such remarkable scope and erudition. Howard Blackmore covers all types of arms used in all parts of the world from prehistoric times down to the early part of the present century, though the emphasis is on the post-medieval period. Many of the arms included—such as whaling-guns, blowpipes, elephant-axes, bolaxes and boomerangs—have hitherto been largely ignored in general works on arms; others have been discussed at length in more than one book, but Mr Blackmore has usually been able to find something new to say even about these. He wears his erudition lightly, and writes in an agreeable manner, though he does not attempt to hide the fact that some aspects of his subject are extremely disagreeable. The records he quotes of the slaughter of animals and birds, especially those of the nineteenth and

early twentieth centuries, are bad enough, but one extract from a Victorian hunter's account of the shooting of an elephant is quite horrifying. The book is well illustrated with photographs of arms and line engravings drawn from contemporary sources. It is an outstanding piece of work that is likely to remain the standard one on its subject for a very long time.

In *The History and Art of Personal Combat* Arthur Wise recounts the history of combat between individuals from that between Cain and Abel to the aerial dogfights of the Second World War. In fact, his book is essentially a history of fencing in Europe, both with swords and other edged weapons, from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, for much less than a quarter of it is devoted to other forms of combat. The coverage is very much the same as in what still remains the basic work on the subject, Egerton Castle's *Schools and Masters of Fencing*, first published in 1885, and many of the illustrations are from the same familiar sources. But the new book is much more lavishly illustrated, and the quality of the reproductions is immensely superior: for these reasons alone, it will be of great value to everyone interested in the history of edged weapons and their use.

Georgian Pistols is chiefly a well-illustrated catalogue of Norman Dixon's own collection. This includes some very fine pieces, mostly representing familiar types, but it is by no means comprehensive; and the book is not an up-to-date general account of the development of Georgian pistols. Mr Dixon does, however, make one major contribution to our knowledge of the subject: in the first chapter and the appendix he gives a great deal of valuable and completely new information about the makers of silver pistol-dials and gun-furniture derived from the records of the London Goldsmiths' Company and of the Birmingham Assay Office. This is accompanied by excellent reproductions of marks

and analytical tables showing the number of pieces of furniture assayed at Birmingham, both by the individual makers and in general, during the period 1771-1807.

Of the remaining two books, *British Military Longarms* is a concise and well-written study of the classic British flintlock musket, the Brown Bess, and her family. It inevitably duplicates parts of Howard Blackmore's *British Military Firearms*, but it includes a good deal more technical information about the firearms themselves, and also larger and more detailed illustrations. It is altogether a very useful addition to the literature of the history of arms and armour. Unfortunately, the same cannot be said about G. A. Shepherd's *Arms and Armour*, which deals with the influences of the development of weapons and of the art of war on each other, and on the soldier, during the period 1660-1918, but in so superficial a manner as to provide little worthwhile information about either. The many line illustrations are, for the most part, unilluminating and, in some cases, downright inaccurate.

Ideograms

In *London Signs* (696pp. Allen and Unwin, £8.50) Bryant Lillywhite has assembled a massive collection of the signs hung out by London inns, tradesmen or coffee-houses down the centuries. There are more than 17,000 of them in this alphabetical index to the nineteen manuscript volumes which the compiler has bequeathed for use at the Guildhall Library and, as W. F. Grimes writes in a foreword, these must be of inestimable value to students of London topography, history and social life. The signs are numbered in this index to conform with the numbering in the volumes; each is located, the approximate date when it was in use are indicated, and in many cases there are notes on the meaning or rarity of a sign.

Under the hammer

GERALD R. DORMAN (Compiler):
Book-Auction Records
Volume 68, 1970/71
1,160pp. Dawsons of Pall Mall, £12.50.

The latest volume of *BAR* introduces a slight modification of the typeface used for the entry-headings, two auction houses hitherto unrepresented, and (a welcome innovation) a foreword by the editor, which includes his selection of the more interesting or important items sold during the season.

The sixteen auction houses represented here are Christie's (17 sales, including those in Melbourne and Montreal), Dowell's of Edinburgh (4), Hausweller of Hamburg (2), Spencer of Sheffield (2), Lawrence of Crawkorne (3), Moorthamers of Brussels (3), Larsen & Nygaard of Oslo (1), Morrison McCleary of Glasgow (2), Montreal Book Auctions (5), Sotheby-Parke-Bernet of New York (20), Phillips Son & Neale (9), Sotheby's in Bond Street (36), Sotheby's in Chancery Lane (14), Swann

Galleries of New York (30) and Van Gendit of Amsterdam (2). The editor has not counted the number of entries, but it is probably of the order of the previous season's, which was more than 30,000. Prices are given in the currency of the country concerned.

Among the more notable sales of the season were the Chatsworth duplicates at Christie's (November 18, 1970), the Orthological Institute files at Lawrence of Crawkorne (containing some remarkable trouvailles), the first public sale of "Libertine Literature" at Parke-Bernet, the substantial collection of Victorian fiction consigned to London by an anonymous (but easily recognizable) New Yorker, the sixth section of the Abbey library, including his modern bindings, the De la Rue collection of playing cards, sold as a single lot and not entered in *BAR*'s list, the Harry Schramm collection of books on food and wine, books and manuscripts from Britwell Court, which included the Ulm Ptolemy on vellum bound by Jerome (£34,000), Blake's *Urizen* (£24,000), and Keats's advance copy of *Endymion* with cor-

Paperbacks

Art
E. H. Gombrich: *The Story of Art* (Penguin, £2.50) Hans Holbein: *The Dance of Death* (Dover, £1.25) Ernst Dürer: *Death, Demons, and Damnation* (Dover, £1.75) Frans Masereel: *The City, a Passionate Journey* (Dover, £1 each).

Biography and Memoirs
Beehovens's Letters. Edited by A. Eaglefield-Hull. (Dover, £2.) Russell Braddon: *Cheshire VC*. (Arrow, 25p.) *The Explorations of Captain James Cook in the Pacific as told by Selections of His Own Journals, 1768-1779*. Edited by A. Grenfell Price. (Dover, £1.75.) Nevill Martin Brown: *Huntley* (Panther 75p.) Manuel Gamio (Editor): *The Life Story of the Mexican Immigrant*. (Dover, £1.50.) Henry Pringle: *Monteverdi*. (Dover, £1.50.) Alfred Russel Wallace: *A Narrative of Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro*. (Dover, £1.75.) Eric Walworth: *Tropic Death*. (Collins-Macmillan, 70p.)

Fiction
James Purdy: *Children in All*. (Panther, 35p.) Kurt Vonnegut: *Welcome to the Monkey House*. (Panther, 40p.)

History
Alice Mary Hadfield: *The Chartist Land Company*. (David and Charles, £1.50.) Ellie Howe: *Strategy and Psychology of Warfare during World War II*. (David and Charles, £1.50.) Cord: *Free Trade*. (David and Charles, £1.25.) Richard A. H. Robinson: *The Orbits of Franco's Spain*. (David and Charles, £2.25.) D. W. Urwin: *Western Europe since 1945*. (Longman, £1.30.) T. Ward: *The Factory System*. (Vol. 1, *Birth and Growth*. (David and Charles, £1.05.)

John Renwick: *Churchill College, Cambridge*. (David and Charles, £1.50.)

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Information, please

Lilly Duggall, 1858-1923: any information concerning her life and writings, especially the period 1910-23 and her connection with the religious group of Canon B. H. Streeter.

P. Johnson, Department of Politics, University of Southampton, Southampton.

John Drinkwater: any letters or manuscript material, or information concerning their whereabouts.

M. J. Pearce, Faculty of Business and Social Sciences, Department of Librarian-ship, Leeds Polytechnic, 28 Park Place, Leeds LS1 2SY.

Simon Marsh Ellis, 1880-1933, literature: any information, letters, reminiscences, etc. for a possible study and/or memoir.

A. J. K. Green, 5 Wilton Crescent, Merton, London SW19 3QY.

Benjamin Hawes, 1797-1862, MP for Lambeth, 1832-47; Charles Hudley, 1800-57, MP for Ashton under Lyne, 1835-37; Leonard Hodder, 1785-1864, factory inspector, 1835-56; Hugh S. Tremerehere, 1804-93, schoolmaster, 1840-42; whereabouts of their political correspondence, for a thesis.

Dania Q. Paz, London House, Mecklenburgh Square, London WC1.

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